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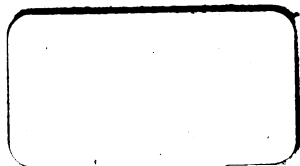
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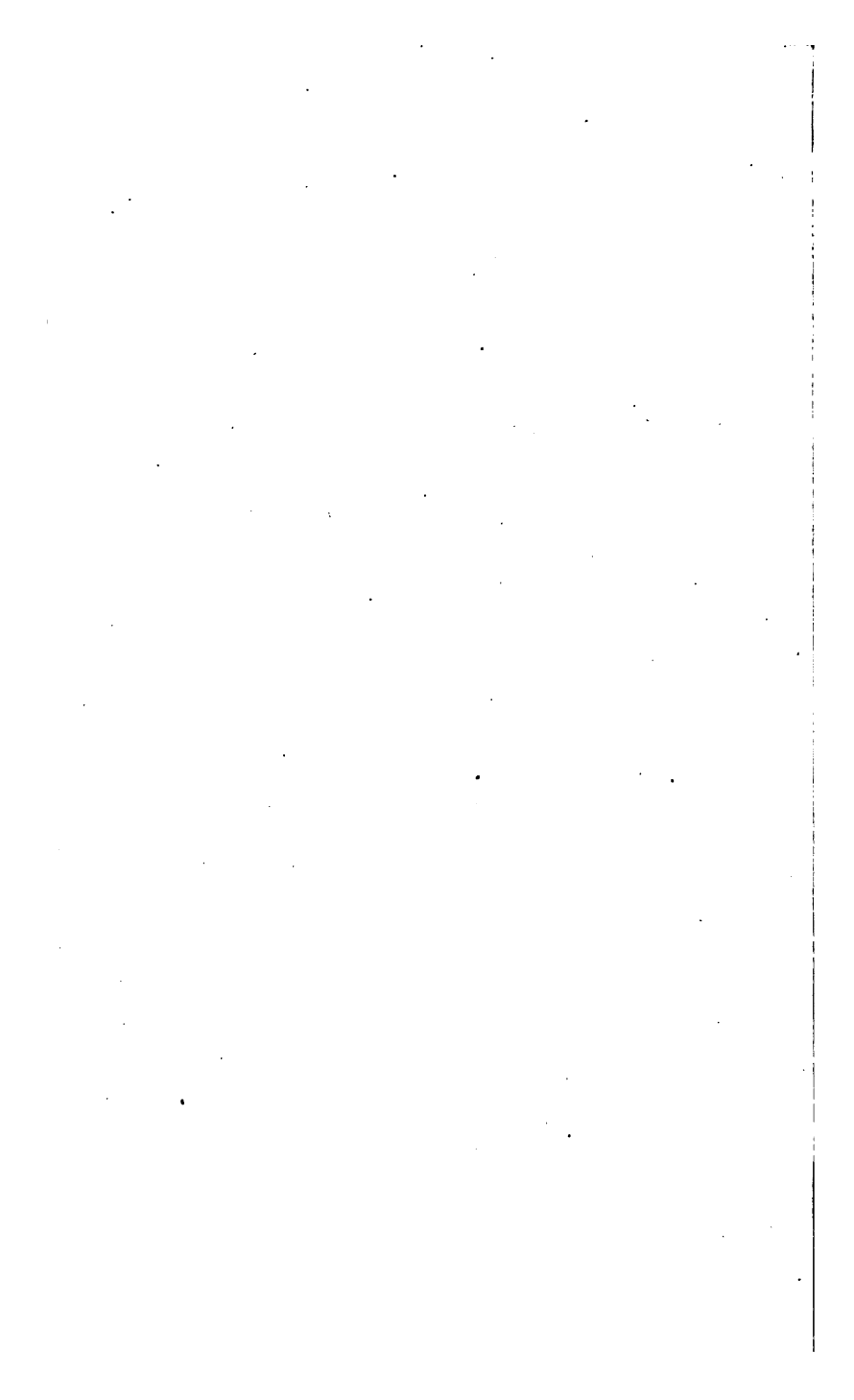
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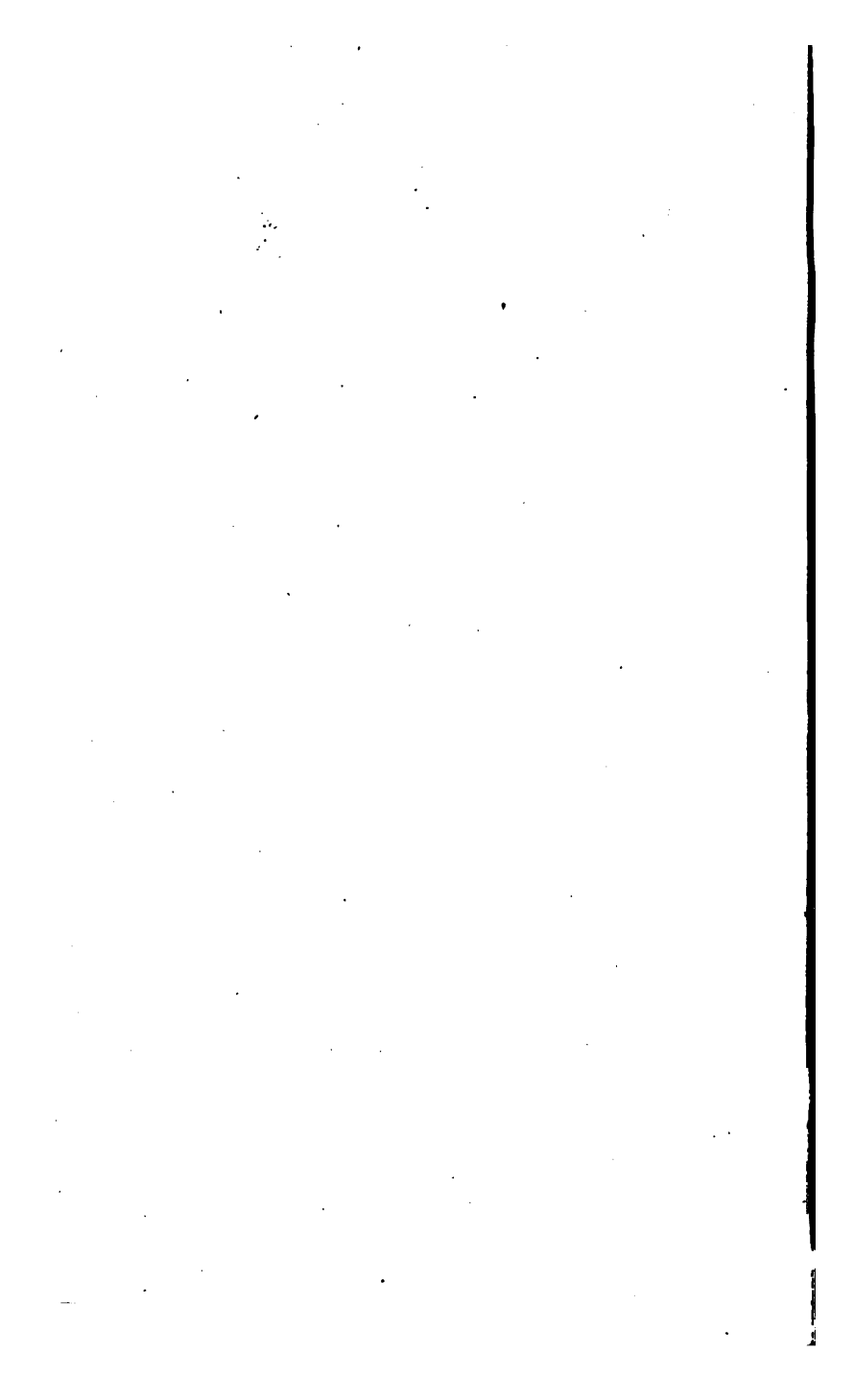
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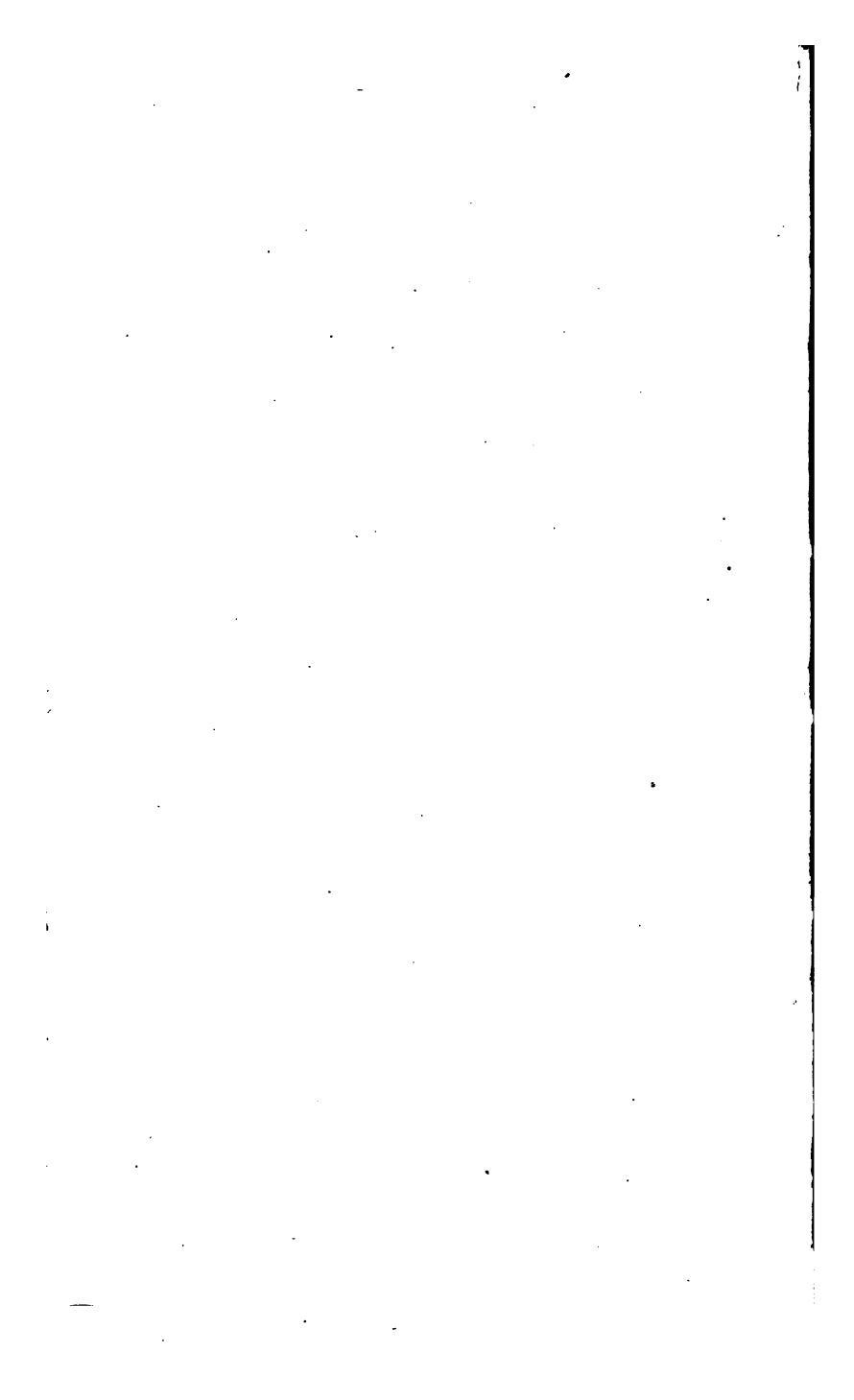
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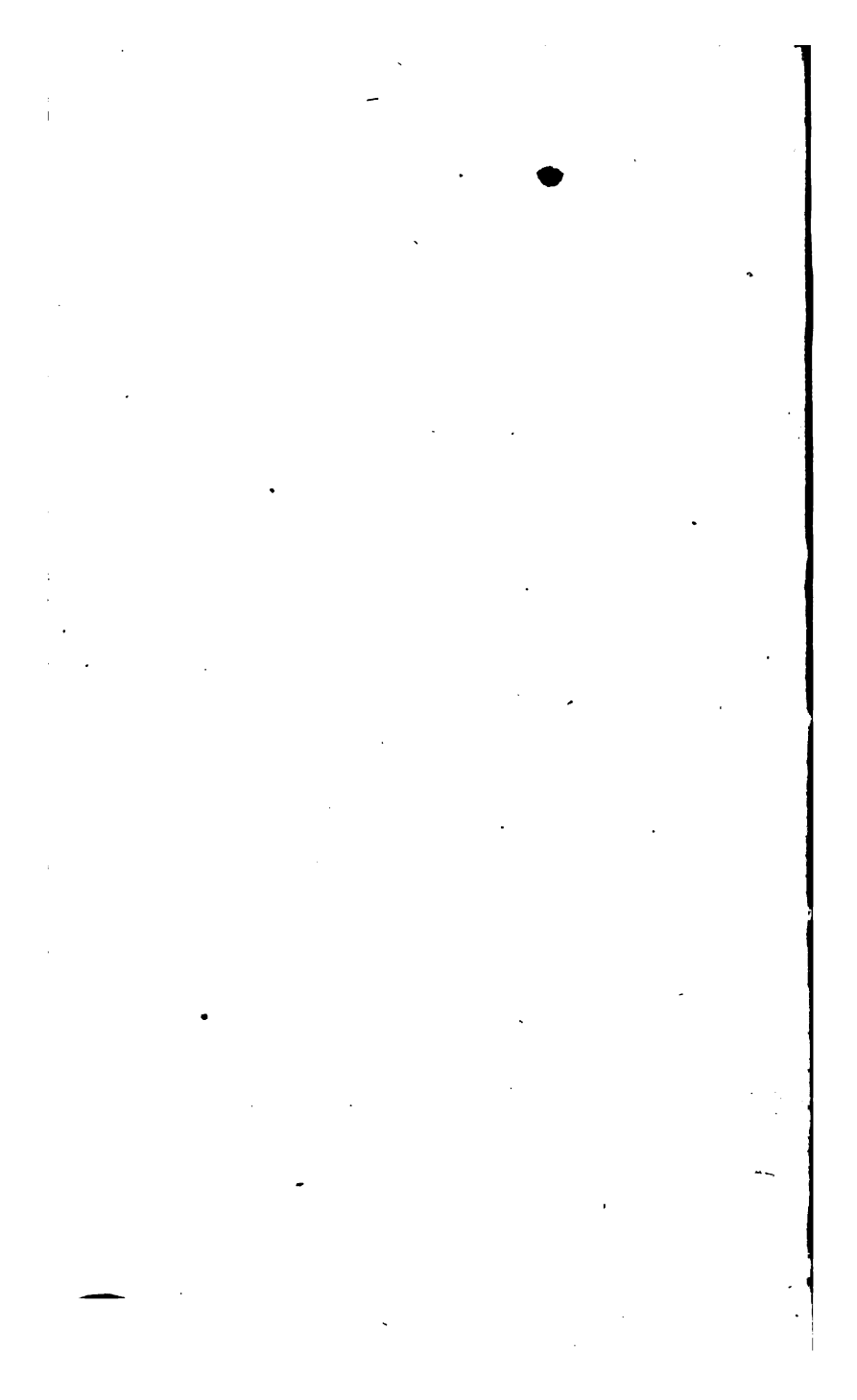




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Butler
Reminiscences

REMINISCENCES

OF

CHARLES BUTLER, ESQ.

OF LINCOLN'S INN.

WITH A LETTER TO A LADY

ON

Ancient and Modern Music.

Accipe, sed facilis!

Buchanan ad Mariam
Scotorum Reginam.

SECOND AMERICAN,

FROM THE FOURTH LONDON EDITION.

26
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PUBLISHED BY E. BLISS & E. WHITE, AND
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H. C. SLEIGHT, PRINTER, JAMAICA.

1825.

WEN

Quare quis tandem me reprehendat, si quantum cæteris ad festos dies ludorum celebrandos, quantum ad alias voluptates, et ad ipsam requiem animi et corporis conceditur temporis: quantum alii tempestivis conviviis, quantum alee, quantum pilæ, tantum mihi egomet, ad hæc studia recolenda, sumpsero.

CIC. PRO ARCHIA.

Le changement d'étude est toujours un délassement pour moi.

D'AGUESSEAU.



TO

SIR GEORGE THOMAS STAUNTON,

BART. LL.D. AND F.R.S.



SIR,

ONE of the earliest and most pleasing Reminiscences in my literary life, is my acquaintance with your father. When we were both young, his various learning and elegant accomplishments attracted my attention and reverence; his long political career, ever marked by honour, integrity, talent, and beneficence, was beheld by his numerous friends with delight and respect; in these feelings, and the joy of seeing all his great and good qualities revived in his Son, no one participated more than myself. It is pleasing to me to have this opportunity of recording the friendship with which he and yourself have so long honoured me.

With the greatest regard,

I have the honour to be

Your obliged and obedient servant,

CHARLES BUTLER.

Lincoln's Inn, 28th Feb. 1822.

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1994

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INTRODUCTION.

AS the Writer's time of life admonishes him that this* may be the last occasion, on which any production of his pen will solicit the attention of the public, he avails himself of it to mention THE TITLES OF ALL HIS WORKS, and to state succinctly some circumstances and observations, which the present publication brings to his REMINISCENCE. Several works having been imputed to him, in which he has had no concern, and which he knows only by their titles, he takes this opportunity of disclaiming ALL, which he shall not acknowledge in the present publication.

M. Pellisson, in his account of M. Huét, the celebrated bishop of Avranches, observes of him, that, "from his tenderest years, he gave himself to study; that, at his rising, his going to bed, and during his meals, he was reading, or had others to read to him; that neither the fire of youth, the interruption of business, the variety of his employments, the society of his friends, nor the bustle of the world, could ever moderate his ardour for study."† These expressions the Reminiscent has applied, with complete justice, to the reverend Mr. Alban Butler, the author of "The Lives of the Saints," his paternal uncle:‡ he believes that, with some justice at least, he may also apply them to himself.

* These Reminiscences, in a contracted form, were prefixed to the writer's HISTORICAL MEMOIRS OF THE ENGLISH, IRISH, AND SCOTTISH CATHOLICS, the publication referred to in the text.

† Pellisson, *Histoire de l'Académie*, vol. i. p. 102.

‡ In the account of his life inserted in the 3d vol. of the writer's works.

St. Omer's under the direction of the Society of Jesus ; —*stirps ad promovendas bonas literas feliciter nata*,—as Lipsius said of the Medici. The design of all these institutions was to educate, for the ecclesiastical state, a succession of youths, who might afterward be sent on the English mission. The catholic gentry availed themselves of them for the education of their children. They were excellently instructed in their religion ; the classics were well taught, but the main object of them being to form members for the church, they were not calculated to qualify the scholars for business, the learned professions, or the higher scenes of life. Writing, arithmetic and geography were little regarded in them ; modern history was scarcely mentioned, and little attention paid to manners.

But every care was taken to form the infant mind to religion and virtue : the boys were secluded from the world ; every thing that could inflame their imagination or passions was kept at a distance ; piety, somewhat of the ascetic nature, was inculcated ; and the hopes and fears, which Christianity presents, were incessantly held in their view. No classic author was put into their hands, from which every passage, describing scenes of love or gallantry, or tending, even in the remotest degree, to inspire them, had not been obliterated. How this was done may be seen by any person, who will inspect father Juvençî's excellent editions of Horace or Juvenal. Few works of English writers were permitted to be read ; none, which had not been similarly expurgated. The consequence was, that a foreign college was the abode of innocence, learning, and piety.

It has been questioned, whether this system of education is perfectly free from objection ;—whether the sad-

den transition from the walls of this holy retirement, into the allurements of pleasure, which every youth must encounter, the instant he steps into the world, is not likely to make him rush into the opposite extreme of indulgence and dissipation; whether the strict state of coercion, in which these students were educated, did not tend to break their spirit;—whether their imaginations were not too much subdued by the awful view of the eternal years thus incessantly presented to them;—whether more of the world's morality ought not to be taught to all, who are to live in the world:—in one word, whether the general effect of the system was not calculated to produce a feebleness of mind and soul, that would shrink from contention, and give the palm to the less religious, but bolder adventurer,

“*Vincentem strepitus, et natum rebus agendis.*”

“But,—what is the end of our being?” asked a priest, to whom, for the sake of obtaining his answer, the Reminiscent retailed these objections: “Is it, what is usually termed, to succeed in life? to deserve the praise of elegance? to obtain renown? Is it not to save one's soul? Can this be done better than by protracting innocence as long as possible? What can compensate its early loss?—You say that all this purity will shrink at the first touch of the world. Be it so; but the victim will then only be in the situation in which he would, in all probability, have been much sooner, if he had been educated in a dissipated school. Besides,—is it certain that this will be the case? Does experience show that the habits of years are so soon overcome?—Admit however that it unfortunately happens,—who is most likely to experience salutary compunction? and, when sober years, the *retour de l'âge*, as the French

“describe this period of life, shall come on, who is most likely to return to religion and regularity,—he, whose youthful years were strict and pious, or he, to whose youth devotion was unknown? You say, that this sequestered education and these submissive habits disqualify for active life: but don't they teach obedience, teach modesty, teach duty?—Now, what is the rank, what the pursuit, for which these do not eminently qualify? But, let experience decide the question. The exclusion of the catholics of this realm from all public, and from most lucrative situations, and the general depression of their body, place them under many disadvantages. Making due allowances for this circumstance, and for the comparative proportion of their numbers, you will find that they will not suffer in comparison with their Protestant brethren. No, the more I think of it,” continued the good ecclesiastic, “the more I feel disposed to advocate the strict precautionary discipline of our foreign colleges.”—The Reminiscent sincerely rejoices that he was educated in one of them. The words “Douay college,” it has ever been a pleasure to him to hear; they have ever brought to his recollection years of great happiness and scenes of great edification.

It may be added, that the world has unavoidably found some way into these establishments since the inmates of them have been settled in England, and that their plan of education has been materially improved. Reading, arithmetic, geography, and modern history, are systematically taught; and due regard is shown to manners.

On two accounts,—cheapness and universal equality of treatment,—the foreign education, of which we are speaking, was entitled to the highest praise. The instruc-

tion, the dress, the board, the pocket-money, the ornamental accomplishments of music, dancing, and fencing, every thing, except physic, was defrayed by the moderate yearly sum of 30*l*. There was no distinction of rank :—when the late duke of Norfolk was at Douay college, he rose at the same hour, studied and said his lesson in the same classes, ate at the same table, and wore the same uniform as the other boys ; the son of the duke de St. Carlos did the same at Stonyhurst ; the grand Condé had done the same at the Loyolan Collège de Clérmont.

But, whatever objection might be made to the retired and devotional habits of a foreign college, in respect to persons destined to the world, none could be made to them in respect to persons destined to the church. The fruits of their pious education always appeared in the conduct of the catholic priests serving on the English mission.

In describing the general body of the clergy of Amiens, the biographer of the celebrated bishop of that city, says, that “they were all decent, and many exemplary.” Higher praise belongs to the English catholic clergy. Who of them is not punctual in his attendance at the altar ? or assiduous in his confessional ? Who, not ready at the call of every poor man, to afford him spiritual succour ? or to instruct his poor child ? Where is the hospital, the workhouse, or the prison, into which, if it have a catholic inmate, the catholic priest does not cheerfully carry the comforts of religion ?

With few exceptions, these servants of God, and benefactors of man,—for these honourable appellations they certainly deserve,—subsist by privations. Still—scanty as is their revenue, the poor generally have some share

of it. Wherever he is, the English catholic priest is the poor man's friend.

It should be mentioned, that, notwithstanding their exile and persecutions, the hearts of the English scholars educated in these foreign colleges remained truly English. This was frequently observed by those, among whom they were domiciliated. During the war, which was closed by the peace of Paris in 1763, every victory which the English gained over the French, was a triumph to the English boys: their superiors were more than once admonished by the magistrates and their friends not to make their joy on these occasions too noisy. The salutary and incontrovertible truth, that one Englishman can, any day, beat two Frenchmen, was as firmly believed, and as ably demonstrated at Douay and St. Omer's, as it could be at Eton or Winchester.

H.

CLASSICAL STUDIES—HOMER—VIRGIL—DEMOSTHENES—
CICERO—DRYDEN—POPE—MODERN ENGLISH POETS.

CLASSICAL literature was, for some years after he quitted Douay college, the delight of the Reminiscent; such it had been even before that time. He distinctly recollects his almost infant admiration of Tasso in Fairfax's translation, and of Homer in Pope's; and that, even then, he felt the splendid invocation, with which Homer introduces his catalogue of the ships, and the noble speech of Sarpédon to Glaucus. At Douay he read the two great epic poems of antiquity in their original language, and then preferred the Roman to the Grecian bard. At a subsequent time he renewed his Greek education under the

late Dr. Harwood,* and then he *began* to be sensible of the transcendent beauties of the latter.

Homer has since been his favourite author. The sublime conceptions, vivid figures, interesting narratives, but more than all, the exquisite style and perfect common sense of the Mæonian bard, are far above any praise which they can receive in these pages. His work is a prodigy :—we must suppose either that he was preceded by other writers, who had brought poetry to the perfection, or nearly to the perfection, in which we find it in his writings ; or that he himself created the poetry of his own immortal work.

It is observable that Herodotus† seems to declare for the latter opinion. “As for the gods,” these are his words, “whence each of them was descended, or whether they were always in being, or under what shape or form they existed, the Greeks knew nothing till very lately. Hesiod and Homer were, I believe, about four hundred years older than myself, and no more ; and these are the men who *made a theogony* for the Greeks ; who gave the gods their appellations, defined their qualities, appointed their honours, and described their forms. As for the poets, who are said to have lived before these men, I am of opinion they came after them.” In this passage, Herodotus expresses an opinion that the Grecian theogony was the invention of Homer and Hesiod ; but, whoever reflects on its nature, its

* The Greek language appeared to be as familiar to this learned man as the English. An eminent Greek scholar once said,—“I don’t know why it is so, but I read no Greek author as familiarly as I do a newspaper.”—Did even the Stephenses read Greek as familiarly as we read newspapers ?

† Εὐσεβίου.

complication and contrivance, its countless but coherent relations and dependencies, must be sensible that this was impossible.

Even if this opinion were admitted, a further difficulty would press upon us. The poetry of Homer is complete ; the structure of the hexameter is equalled by no other mode of versification in any language ; the formation of the phrases, the collocation of the words, the figurative diction, the animation of inanimate nature, whatever else distinguishes poetry from prose, is introduced, in its most perfect mode, into the poems of Homer. The universal opinion of all ages has acknowledged these to constitute the true poetical character, and no succeeding age has improved on any of them. Was he, then, the inventor of them ?—This exceeds human power. Was he preceded by other bards, upon whom he refined, and whom he transcendently excelled ? Then,—what has become of these antecedent poets ?

To solve these difficulties, the Reminiscent begs leave to suggest a conjecture, in which he has sometimes indulged himself ;—that there existed in central Asia a civilized and powerful nation, in which the Sanscrit language was spoken, and the religion of Brama prevailed ; this, the initiated might reconcile, by emblematical explanation, with philosophy ; but, in the sense in which it was received by the people at large, it was the rankest idolatry ;—that, comparing what the writers on India, Siam, China, and Japan, relate of a celebrated man, whom they severally call Budda, Sommonocoddom, Fohi and Xaha, we have reason to suppose that he was the same person, and a reformer of the Sanscrit creed and ceremonial ;—that his reformed system may be called Buddhism : that this still prevails in Tartary, China. and numerous islands

in the Indian Archipelago; but that Sanscritism still exists in Hindóstan; that either before or after the Buddhist schism, and not far from the era usually assigned to the fabulous ages, the Sanscritans spread their doctrines and languages, though not their castes, over the countries which lay to their west, so that, in the course of time, they became the religious creed and language both of Greece and Italy; that civilization and the arts and sciences flourished at this period among them; that those, who introduced them into Greece, were called the Pelasgi; that those, who introduced them into Italy, acquired the appellation of Hetruscans; that, by degrees, the Sanscrit was moulded into the Greek language; that from the Greek it degenerated, in Italy, into the Latin; that this state of things continued in Greece, till the irruption of the Dorians and Heraclidæ into Peloponnesus, about eighty years after the Trojan war; and in Italy, until the period usually assigned for the foundation of Rome, when, from some unknown event, the glories of Hetruria were considerably impaired; that, after the settlement of the Dorians and Heraclidæ in Peloponnesus, but while the former traditionary learning of Greece was still remembered, Homer wrote; that, in the confusion which followed this event, the memory of Homer, and the preceding and contemporary poets, was lost; and that the minor poets never revived, but that the super-eminent merit of Homer buoyed up his strains against the overwhelming waves of time, and restored them to celebrity.

This conjecture receives some countenance from the opinion generally entertained by the ancients, that Homer acquired his knowledge in Egypt, and the Egyptians theirs from India; and from the system of Sir William

Jones* respecting the identity of the Indian, Grecian, and Italian deities :—Among these, if we believe Dr. Milne,† we should include the national deities of China. It is also said by Sanscrit scholars, that there are strong marks of affinity between the languages of these nations, and that something even which resembles the Greek and Roman metres, is discoverable in Sanscrit poetry.

But, whatever opinions may be formed on the points which have been mentioned, no doubt can be entertained of the supreme merit of the Homeric poems.

In one respect—the strong and exquisite delineation of character—Homer has, unquestionably, excelled all other writers. His heroes constitute nearly all the genera into which mankind can be divided ; the species of them he left to his followers. Sometimes, however, he descends to these, and then his pencil is equally powerful and distinct. All the principal actors in his poems have the heroic port, and therefore inspire awe ; but they are all human, and therefore interest by their successes and misfortunes.

Here, *Virgil* miserably fails. With the exception of Dido, and perhaps of Turnis in his latest hour, he has scarcely introduced into the *Æneid* a personage who either imposes by the grand, or interests by the amiable features of his character. *Æneas* is worse than insipid :—he disgusts by his fears, his shiverings, and his human sacrifices : and, in his interview with Helen, while Troy was on fire, he is below contempt. *Amata*, however, is

* In his excellent dissertation upon this subject in the “*Asiatic Researches*.”

† See his “*Retrospect of the First Ten Years of the Protestant Mission to China*,”—an interesting work, printed at the Anglo-Chinese press in Malacca.

Virgil's crime : he had invested Dido with grandeur ; he might have made Amata lovely ; and, as he had excited our admiration for the Tyrian queen, he might have drawn our tears for the daughter of Latinus.

It must be obvious to every reader, that Homer's women are infinitely preferable to Virgil's ; but it is not a little remarkable, that the women of *Ossian* are equal in grace, and superior in delicacy and feminine tenderness to both. The icicles on Dian's temple are not more pure, more chaste than they. This seems, to the Reminiscent, to afford a strong, but, in his opinion, a solitary argument, in favour of the authenticity of the poems which describe them.*

The "Paradise Lost" did not admit the discrimination of character, or excitement of feeling, which the *Iliad* contains ; and in this respect is necessarily its inferior. But the ability with which *Milton* struggled with this overwhelming difficulty is prodigious, and may justify our asserting the equality of the poets, while we admit the inequality of the poems. Perhaps neither the Latin nor the English epic contains any insulated passage which can be compared with the description of the Mourner at the Scæan gate, or with,—perhaps the very noblest effort of the epic muse,—Priam's begging the body of Hector :†—to these only, Milton's descriptions of Satan in

* The magic of exquisite poetry is, perhaps, nowhere more conspicuous than in the description of Dido's silent and indignant scorn of Æneas in the Stygian regions, and her return to Sichæus. Stript of the charm, with which it is invested by the poet, the scene is disgustingly ludicrous ; but, as it is related by Virgil, it rises to sublimity. If the whole adventure on the Tyrian shore had been told by an ordinary poet, the widower and the widow would always have been in view, and been comic.

† One fancied scene, however, of common life—the prison inter-

his first book, and some scenes in which he introduces Adam and Eve, are inferior. Yet, there is no part of Homer which we read with more pleasure than the second, fourth, and sixth books of Virgil. The story of Nisus and Euryalus is exquisite ; but is it not exceeded by the night-adventures of Ulysses and Diomedes, in which we hear every step, and feel every breath ? Homer's language is uniformly idiomatic : Is not Virgil's occasionally too highly polished ? Does it not sometimes cease to be Latin ? Has not the poem of *Lucretius*, have not the hexameters of *Catullus*, and the epistles of *Horace*, more of the true raciness of the Latin soil ?

The Reminiscent recollects the little real admiration with which, when he was at Douay, he read the Olynthiaks and Philippics of *Demosthenes*, and the preference which he then gave to *Cicero* ; but when, afterward, he perused them with Dr. Harwood, and, by attending the debates in parliament, became acquainted with the nature and effects of public speaking, he perceived the excellence of Demosthenes. As an orator, Cicero always appeared to the Reminiscent to be entitled to the full measure, which he has received, of universal admiration ;—he trembles to add, that he thinks his philosophical works defective in order and precision, and that they contain a superfluity of words. His Letters are beyond praise : it is observable that an epistle to Lentulus, in

view between Jeannie Deans and Effie, in the *Heart of Mid Lothian*—has been described with such exquisite pathos, that, if it were lawful to weigh heroes and ordinary mortals in the same scales, it might be compared with this wonder of Homer's muse, and not suffer by the comparison. No judge of good writing ever approached the pages which contain it, without a fear of the author's failure ; none has perused them without astonishment at the felicity of the execution.

the first book* of his familiar correspondence, contains the ablest delineation of *ratting*, and the most artful apology for it, which have appeared. No letters, ancient or modern, are comparable with Cicero's. Racine always carried in his pocket a volume of those to Atticus. Lord Bolingbroke's may be thought to approach nearest to them. From the specimens which we have seen, it may be confidently expected, that the letters of Mr. Burke will be found eminently beautiful and interesting.†

Of the works of the ancients, which time has intercepted from us, it is difficult to fix on that, of which we should most lament the loss. Mr. Fox mentioned to the Reminiscent that he principally regretted the lost tragedies of Euripides, and the comedies of Menander: some think the Decades of Livy, and the portions of Tacitus, which have not reached us, a greater loss. If the Reminiscent could obtain any of the *opera perperdita*, by a wish, it would be the *Memoirs of Megasthenes*, the ambassador of Seleucus at Palibothra, the capital of the Prasii, or the country watered by the confluence of the Ganges and Jumna. What a store of ancient Indian learning might we not expect them to unfold!

Classical literature naturally leads to a consideration of *modern poetry*. The Reminiscent's almost complete ignorance of the *Italian language*, does not allow him to speak of the poets of that country. He was once fami-

* Epist. ad Familiares, l. 1. ep. 7.

† The perfect diction of *Madame de Sévigné* must be lost, in a great measure, upon foreigners: they will be more sensible of the clear nervous style of *Madame de Maintenon*, and the unpretending wisdom and good sense of her observations, addressed, in general, to persons in the most exalted ranks, but conveying lessons of virtue and prudence to persons of every condition. Do not these letters place her at the head of the female writers of France?

liar with those of *France*: but his total neglect of them, with very few exceptions, during the forty last years of his life, has driven them from his recollection. He remembers, however, his admiration of the perfect style of *Boileau*, without a useless epithet, or an imperfect word, and with very little of that inversion, which is the great defect of French poetry;—he also recollects his admiration of the poems of *Jean Baptiste Rousseau*, who appeared to him to possess more of the true poetic character than,—(unless we should except *Racine*),—has been bestowed on any of his countrymen. His works are little known in this country; a selection of them,—(for, unfortunately, several are highly objectionable,)—was made by father Porée:—an English reader will be delighted with them; he will find that, in several, the French bard has mounted the winged steed, and soared with no middle flight.*

It was not till “the subtle thief of youth” had stolen all his early years, that the Reminiscent was really sensible of the wonders and charms with which the pages of the bard of the Avon abound, and which, notwithstanding his countless deformities and absurdities, place him in the

* Every reader of taste must admire the following stanza; the French bard abounds with strains of equal beauty.

“Montrez nous, guerriers magnanimes!
Votres vertus dans tout leur jour;
Voyons comment vos cœurs sublimes
Du sort soutiendront le retour!
Tant que sa faveur vous seconde,
Vous êtes les maîtres du monde,
Votre grandeur nous éblouit:
Mais au moindre révers funeste,
Le masque tombe, l’homme reste,
Et le héros s’évanouit.”

British—the Reminiscent believes,—in every theatre, without a rival or a second. *Shakspeare*, perhaps, is the only poet who has put into the mouth of an actor a speech which the person, whom that actor was intended to represent, might have spoken on the occasion to which it is assigned. Brutus and Anthony might have uttered the very speeches, Hamlet might have pronounced the very soliloquy, Macbeth and his Lady might have held the same dialogue, and Falstaff and the Merry Wives of Windsor might have had the same conversations as *Shakspeare* has ascribed to them. This is his peculiar praise; and, (at least with the single exception of *Homer*,) no other poet has so many real touches of simple or sublime nature.*

On a late perusal of some of the best works of *Dryden* and *Pope*, the Reminiscent thought he perceived a great superiority in the former: he remembers when he thought the contrary. Age, he believes, makes us fastidious in poetry, and feel much more than we do in youth, the truth of the known observation of *Horace*,—

Mediocribus esse poetis,

Non Di, non homines, non concessere Columnæ.

* The circumstances, which he invents, are sometimes so perfectly suited to the scene which he describes, and the actors in it, that we feel it quite certain, and would even wager, that they really took place. Thus, when *Casca* relates to *Cassius*, the offer of the crown to *Cæsar*, and his unwilling rejection of it, *Cassius* asks, "Did *Cicero* say any thing?" "Aye," *Casca* answers, "he spoke Greek." "To what effect?" asks *Cassius*. "Nay," replied *Casca*, "an I tell you that, I'll ne'er look you i' the face again; but those that understood him, smiled at one another and shook their heads." Now, supposing *Cicero* to have been present at the scene, is it not quite certain that *Cicero* did talk Greek; and that all who understood him, did smile and did shake their heads?

He remembers when he knew by heart a great part of *Dodsley's Collection*: he is now insensible of the merit of the greater portion of the poems which it contains. Very little poetry, which has appeared since the decease of Pope, now affords him pleasure; but Goldsmith, Collins, and some passages in Churchill, he yet peruses with delight. This very year he read the *Comus* of Milton, and his *Allegro and Penseroso*, with all the zest and admiration of youth. Miss Seward used to say, that she would try a person, who pretended to a taste for poetry, by his feelings on perusing, for the first time, the *Lycidas* of Milton: would not his feelings, when he first perused the *Mask of Comus*, afford a better criterion?

Every verse of *Gray* is imprinted in the memory of the Reminiscent. It is remarkable that, notwithstanding the obscurity, the stiffness, the bad rhymes, and disgusting alliterations of this poet, his works are more read and remembered than those of any other English poet. If all the printed copies of the poems of *Gray* were annihilated, there is not a county in England, or a parish in London, in which all his English and all his Latin odes, and his incomparable elegy, might not be supplied, by the recollections of some of their inhabitants.

How very little of *Goldsmith* is known by heart! Yet his language is at once more simple and more elegant, and his rhymes more perfect, than those of *Gray*. He has nothing of *Gray's* alliteration, stiffness, or obscurity; his images are drawn from real life; and all he says comes home to men's business and manners. To what, then, are we to attribute the superior popularity of *Gray*? Certainly not to *Goldsmith's* want of excellence: but the muse of *Gray* was of a higher order. To use an expression attributed to Dr. Johnson, if she has sometimes the

contortions, she has often what Goldsmith never has, the enthusiasm of the Sybil; and even her ordinary gait shows her divine origin.* The greatest compliment which can be paid to Gray, is to mention his acknowledged superiority to Goldsmith. May not something of this kind be said of Milton and Lord Byron? Lucifer is great, how much greater is Satan?

The most eminent English poets of our own times are confessedly Cowper, Lord Byron, Sir Walter Scott, and Southey. The true poetic character is spread over all their poems: those of *Cowper* are particularly set off by a general tinge of religious and moral melancholy, which adds to their effect; but a multitude of his lines are rough,—a multitude, prosaic; this renders the perusal of them a task, and the pleasure which attends it does not always compensate the labour. It is surprising that *Southey*, who has written and still writes so much, should, as in his *Don Roderick*, have written so well. *Lord Byron's* poems contain many passages of great sublimity and pathos, and many of exquisite gaiety and humour; but he is too frequently obscure, and too often, while the attention is exerted in discovering his meaning, his exquisite poetry evaporates. *Sir Walter Scott's* poems abound with passages of the highest splendour and animation: he carries his reader into the scenes which he describes, and makes him partake of their agitation. An antiquarian picturesque is frequently introduced, which, particularly to those who are skilled in antiquarian lore, has an indescribable charm; but his ease is not always laboured, and the mind of the reader is too much employed in endeavouring to understand his story, and follow the clue of

* Et vera incessu patuit Dea.—VIRG.

his narrative, to be uniformly alive to the charm of his poetry. May we not apply both to him and Lord Byron, what Cardinal de Retz says of the grand Condé, that "he did not do justice to the greatness of his own merit?" We hope, and we believe, that neither has yet produced his greatest work.

Crabbe,—sometimes the *Teniers*,—sometimes the *Salvator Rosa* of modern poetry, will accompany those whom we have mentioned, to posterity. When a person has succeeded so well in one line, it may be imprudent to wish that he had engaged in another; yet it is impossible not to lament that his muse has not oftener frequented the abodes of virtue, of innocence, of comfort, and joy.

To return to Pope,—the merit of his translation of *Homer* is admitted by every person of learning, taste and candour. It is, however, true, that he often generalizes while *Homer* dwells in particulars; that he too frequently expresses the whole, while *Homer* expresses a part only of what he wishes his readers to understand; and that, by describing common things or occurrences with too much pomp, he sometimes borders on the burlesque. This may be thought to justify *Gibbon's* expression, that "Pope's translation has every merit except that of likeness to its original."*

Melmoth, in his "*Letters of Sir Thomas Fitz-Osborne*," produces several instances, in which the translation is

* No literal translation of the satires and epistles of *Horace*, which Pope has imitated, presents such a resemblance to the originals as his imitations. How well do the peer, whom purging and blistering reduced to a single vote, and *Marlborough's* soldier, poor and old, represent the incidents which befel the man at *Argos*, and the soldier of *Lucullus*! In some of *Horace's* most finished passages, Pope successfully contends with him: but is he ever seen in *Horace's* easy chair?

superior, in his opinion, to the original. He proceeds to contrast different parts of the versions of Pope and Dryden, and gives a decided preference to the former. One passage cited by him, is that which describes Andromache returning, after the interview at the Scæan gate, to her maidens in the palace. Dryden thus translates the original :

“ At this,—for new replies he* did not stay,
But laced his crested helm, and strode away.
His lovely consort to her house returned,
And, looking often back, in silence mourned.
Home when she came, her secret wo she vents,
And fills the palace with her loud laments.
These loud laments her echoing maids restore,
And Hector, yet alive, as dead deplore.”

It is thus rendered by Pope :

“ Thus having said,—the glorious chief resumes
His tow’ry helmet, black with shading plumes.†
His princess parts with a prophetic‡ sigh,
Unwilling parts, and oft reverts her eye,
That streamed at every look,—then, moving slow,
Sought her own palace, and indulged her wo.
There, while her tears deplored the godlike man,
Through all the train the soft infection§ ran;
The pious|| maids their mingled sorrows shed,
And mourn the living Hector as the dead.”

May not the justice of the preference given by Melmoth to Pope’s version of this passage be questioned? Is

* Hector.

† Does this convey the meaning of the original?

‡ There is no sigh in the original, and Homer certainly would not have called it “prophetic.”

§ Nothing can be less Homeric than this expression.

|| Where did Pope find the piety of the maids?

not the simplicity of Dryden, homely perhaps as it may be thought, greatly preferable to the Ovidian graces of Pope ?*

* Melmoth prefers to the original, Pope's translation of the night-piece which follows the description of the second battle between the Trojans and Greeks. The former are victorious, and drive the Greeks to the fortifications in the front of their ships:—Night puts an end to the battle; the Trojan troops continue in the field, kindle fires, and keep watch under arms. To bring, in the liveliest manner, these fires and their effect before his reader, the poet introduces this celebrated simile: it may be thus literally translated: "As when, in the heavens, the stars around the resplendent moon shine in greatest lustre, and the air is without wind, the watch-towers, the mountain-heads, and the woody promontories are visible, and the whole firmament opens itself in its immensity; all the stars of heaven are displayed, and the shepherds rejoice in spirit. Such and so numerous, between the ships and the streams of Xanthus, shone the fires of the Trojans before the walls of Troy. A thousand fires were burning in the field, and at each fire fifty men were seated, by the light of the bickering flame; the horses stood round the chariots, devouring the white barley and oats, and awaited the fair throned morning."

Pope thus translates the simile:

"As when the moon, refulgent lamp of night,
O'er heaven's clear azure spreads her sacred light,
When not a breath disturbs the deep serene,
And not a cloud o'ercasts the solemn scene;
Around her throne the vivid planets roll,
And stars unnumbered gild the glowing pole,
O'er the dark trees a yellower verdure shed,
And tip with silver every mountain's head,
Then shine the vales, the rocks in prospect rise,
A flood of glory bursts from all the skies;
The conscious swains, rejoicing in the sight,
Eye the blue vault, and bless the useful light."

To the preference which Melmoth claims for the translation of this passage, over the original, an admirer of Homer may reasonably object: he will allow the translation to be a performance of no

An excuse for the ornaments, with which Pope has studiously attempted to set off his translation, is furnished by the remark of Dr. Johnson, that "though Virgil wrote in language of the same general fabric with that of Homer, in verses of the same measure, and in an age nearer to Homer's time by 1,800 years, yet he found, even then, the state of the world so much altered, and the demand for elegance* so much increased, that mere nature would be endured no longer; and that, perhaps, in the multitude of borrowed passages, very few can be shown which he has not embellished."† It is impossible to deny the general justness of this re-

ordinary poet, but will contend that its pleonasms considerably detract from its merit. Its great defect, however, is its total misrepresentation of the image and sentiment expressed in the original. Homer describes real, quiescent nature; Pope makes her poetical and animated: The moon is the principal object in the translation; the original directs the attention to the stars, to which the poet resembles the fires burning in the Trojan camp, and which form the subject of the comparison. "The flood of glory," which, in the words of the translator, "bursts from all the skies," is represented by him to irradiate all nature. The original more justly, and more picturesquely, limits both the glory and its effects; the former to the glittering of the stars, the latter to their bringing into view the woods, the mountain-heads, and the promontories. Is not this its real effect? Would not the scene have been thus painted by *Vernét*?

At the end of the simile, half of a verse in the original is expanded into two verses; in the last, the translator makes the swains bless the "useful" light: is not this epithet both very improper, and singularly contrary to the genius of Homer?

If an admirer of Homer were required to prove the general inferiority of Pope's translation, and the nature of that inferiority, could he prove them better than by producing the original and translation of this simile?

* Would not "refinement" have been a more proper word?

† Has he often improved them by these embellishments?

mark ; but may not the Reminiscent be allowed to hint, that no embellishment should have been admitted by Pope that was *contrary* to the genius of the original ; and to ask, whether many embellishments of this kind have not found their way into the translation ?

With the translation of Pope, that of *Cowper* will sustain no comparison. It is literal ; and may be thought to bear, on this account, a nearer resemblance to the original. It is true, that, if it be examined word for word, this will appear to be the case ; but, if the general effect of any one speech, or any one narrative, be considered, the result will be very different. Let their translations of that part of the first book of the *Iliad*, which describes the walk of the priest on the shore of the loud-resounding sea, and his address to the chiefs, be compared :— which will be found to give the best notion of the exquisite charm of the original ? Even the most orthodox Grecian must give the palm to Pope. Dr. Johnson pronounces his translation to be “ a poetical wonder,—a production which no age or nation can pretend to equal.” Is this exaggerated praise ? Dryden’s translation of the *Æneid* stands nearest to it : a poet by profession, in search of poetical imagery, poetical combinations and poetical diction, will perhaps find more of these in Dryden ; but general readers will unquestionably give a decided preference to Pope.

III.

JURISPRUDENCE.

THE *luns of Court* completely divorced the Reminiscent from the muses :—in the course of his professional studies he endeavoured to obtain a general elementary knowledge of the Laws and Constitutions of other countries. The few following miscellaneous observations on some of the topics, to which this subject leads, will not, perhaps, be unacceptable to his readers.

III. 1.

Heirship and Venality of Judicial Offices in France.

AN Englishman will hear with surprise, that in France, from the age of Lewis the twelfth, till the revolution, most offices of justice were both hereditary and saleable ; he will hear, with greater surprise, that the wisdom of this national provision was a point on which respectable opinions were divided at the first, and continued divided to the last.

In the year 1467, offices, which before that time had been simple commissions, revocable at the king's pleasure, were, by an edict of Lewis the eleventh, rendered perpetual and hereditary. This edict gave rise both to the heirship and sale of offices. In 1493, Charles the eighth published an edict, which, while it prohibited the sale by one subject to another, of offices that regarded the administration of justice, was silent on the sale of other offices, and was therefore supposed to legalize their sale. An edict of Lewis the twelfth allowed the sale even of offices of justice. Until 1522, the whole of the money paid for the purchase of them was received by the crown ; but in that year, an edict of Francis the first permitted

Λ 2 /

individuals, possessed of such offices, to sell them, on paying a certain proportion of the purchase-money into the royal treasury; this made venality of offices an important article of the French constitution, and an important branch of the royal revenue.

In the course of time, it underwent many modifications. For some centuries before the French revolution, it was conducted on the following plan :—When the king established a new court of justice, the edict of its creation fixed the number of the magistrates or judges, and the specific sums to be paid by them for grants of the offices, which they should fill. For these, the candidates petitioned the king; the grants of them were made by letters under the great seal; and, from that time, the offices were hereditary in the family of the grantee.—Where a court was established, the possessor of any of the offices, of which it was composed, might, in his life-time, and his heirs might, after his decease, dispose of it by sale; or he might direct by will that it should be sold. When the sale of an office took place, the purchaser petitioned the crown for a grant of it; and, when the grant was signed, he paid, besides the price payable to the vender, a sum of money into the royal treasury: the amount of it varied from 1,000 to 2,000 French crowns. The money which he paid into the royal treasury, was, on a subsequent sale of the office, returned to him or his heirs. Thus, the purchaser of an office virtually paid for it no more than the interest which accrued upon the purchase-money from the time of its payment until the return of it on a resale. But great care was exerted to ascertain that the person, to whom the office was granted, should be properly qualified for the discharge of its duties. It was always required that he should have taken

the degree of licentiate both in the civil and the canon law ; and the taking of such a degree, in a French university, was far from a matter of course. As soon as the grant of the office was delivered to the purchaser, he presented it to the tribunal to which the office belonged, with a petition, stating generally, his qualifications, and expressly averring that the money, which he had paid for the office, was really his own, and had not been borrowed by him for the purpose. A commission then issued, composed of lay and ecclesiastical lawyers and other persons of rank : they were directed to inquire and report upon the learning, morals, political conduct and general idoniety of the purchaser. The procureur-general of the parliament, within whose resort the office lay, presided over the commission. If the inquiry was favourable to the purchaser, they chose, out of the digest or code, some point of law, upon which, at the end of eight days, he was to come prepared with complete legal information ; he was also expected to answer, with general sufficiency, on the civil and canon law, and on the ordinances and customary law of the country. Sometimes, he was declared incapable of the office ; sometimes, a term for farther probation was allowed him. Till the middle of the last century these examinations were conducted with great strictness. The chancellor himself occasionally examined the persons appointed to offices, on their competency. " One day," says Brantôme, " I called on M. le Chancelier de l'Hôpital, with Maréchal Strozzi, who was among his favourites, and he invited us to dinner. He gave us an excellent bouillie,* and

* Of the excellence of this bouillie, Strozzi was a consummate judge, if he was capable of appreciating the merits of his own cook.

“nothing more; but his conversation was charming; fine words, fine sentences in abundance, and now and then a gentle joke. After dinner, a couple of counsellors, just chosen into their offices, were announced; he ordered them in, and, without desiring them to sit down, called for the code, and put several questions upon different articles in it to the two gentlemen, who all the while trembled as a leaf. Their answers did not show much knowledge; and he gave them such a lecture! Though the youngest of them was fifty years old, he sent them back to their studies. Strozzi and

“This great artist maintained his master’s table with twelve couverts every day, during the long and severe blockade of Le Petit Leyth, although he had nothing better to place on it, than the quarter of a carrion horse, and now and then the grass and weeds that grew on the ramparts: *c’étoit un homme superbe!* With one thistle’s head and a nettle or two, he could make a soup for twenty guests; an haunch of a little puppy-dog, made a *roti des plus excellents*: but his coup de maître was, when the rendition, what you call the surrender, took place and happened; and then he made, out of the hind quarter of one salted horse, forty-five couverts, that the English and Scottish officers and nobility, who had the honour to dine with Monseigneur, upon the rendition, could not tell what the devil any one of them were made upon at all.”—*Fortunes of Nigel*, vol. ii. ch. 1.

“A French cook entertained high notions both of the profession to which he belonged, and of his own eminence in it. At the dinner, which the prince of Condé gave to Louis the fourteenth, the prince’s cook, Vatel, le grand Vatel, as he is called by Madame de Sévigné, did not receive, in due time, some fresh sea-fish which he had ordered, and the want of which would render the dinner imperfect. This was too much for him. He said he had lost his honour; and could not survive its loss. The prince endeavoured to comfort him, but without effect: he declared his heart was broken; and, a few minutes afterward, died a Roman death.”—*Sévigné’s Letters*, vol. i. l. 50.

“I stood by the fire-side highly diverted with the scene, and particularly with the woful countenances of the two magistrates ; they had all the appearance of men going to be hanged. At length the chancellor packed them off with a frown ; and assured them that he would inform the king how ignorant they were, and would see that their charges should be given to others. As soon as they were out of hearing, he told us, they were two great asses ; and that it was against conscience that the king should name such persons for judges. We suggested to him that the game, which he had offered them, was too high for their palates. ‘Far from it,’ said the chancellor, ‘I questioned them on no point on which a tyro in the law ought not to be fully informed.’”

It should be added, that, in general, the magistrates were chosen from families of great respectability, and possessed fortunes, which placed them considerably above want. No one was admitted into the parliament of Brittany, who could not prove that he was noble by race and extraction, or in other words, who could not prove a century of nobility in his family.

The advocates for the venality of offices of justice are proud to reckon among them the cardinal de Richelieu and Montesquieu. “The venality of charges,” says the latter,* “cannot exist in despotic states ; as it is essential to despotism, that every officer should be liable to be instantaneously placed, and instantaneously displaced at the mere will of the prince. It is proper for monarchies, as it makes the study of the law a kind of qualification, which otherwise the party would not be at the pains of acquiring, to enable him to hold a family

* *Esprit des Loix*, l. v. c. 19.

"dignity. It gives an early direction to duty ; and tends
 " to confer permanence on an order of great public use in
 " the state. It is a just observation of Suidas,"* con-
 " tinues Montesquieu, " that, by the sale of offices, the em-
 " peror Anastasius converted the empire into an aristo-
 " cracy ; Plato could not endure it. He declares that it
 " is the same, as if persons on ship-board should choose
 " a pilot for money. But Plato is speaking of a repub-
 " lic, the basis of which is virtue ; we are speaking of a
 " monarchy. There, if the sale of offices were not allow-
 " ed by law, the greediness and avarice of the courtiers
 " would in spite of the law, make them saleable. As
 " the sales of them are now regulated by our laws, the
 " chance of having them properly filled is greater than
 " if the nomination of them depended on the mere will
 " of the courtiers. Finally, such a method of advancing
 " one's self by wealth, both inspires and sustains indus-
 " try ; and, in a monarchy, every thing, which incites
 " noble families to industry, is to be encouraged." These
 observations are excellent ; but the intelligent reader
 will immediately perceive, that nothing urged in them
 for the venality of charges in France can be applied to
 the venality of them in England. A reflection, highly
 honourable both to the wisdom and purity of the English
 constitution, will perhaps here suggest itself to him !

* It did honour to Suidas to make this observation, and to Mon-
 tesquieu to feel its justness : but how often did Montesquieu turn
 what he read into gold !

The Reminiscent invites every student, who has bewildered him-
 self among the *cognati and agnati* of the Roman law, to peruse the
 27th book *De l'Esprit des Loix*, where he will find the whole system
 of Roman jurisprudence, respecting heirship and succession, devel-
 oped with the greatest precision and perspicuity. It consists of a sin-
 gle chapter ; but it is a chapter written by one, who, as he himself
 says of Tacitus, *abregeait tout parce qu'il voyait tout*.

III. 2.

Presents and Personal Solicitations to Foreign Judges.

ANOTHER practice in the French administration of justice, which will astonish an English reader, was the *épices*, or *presents*, made, on some occasions, by the parties in a cause, to the judges by whom it was tried.

A passage in Homer,* describing a compartment in the shield of Achilles, in which two talents of gold were placed between two judges, to be paid to the best speaker, is generally cited to prove that, even in the earliest times, the judges were paid for their administration of justice: but an attentive reader will probably agree with Mr. Mitford in his construction of this passage, that the two talents were not the reward of the judge, who should give the best opinion, but the subject of the dispute, and to be adjudged to him who established his title to them by the best arguments. Plutarch mentions, that, under the administration of Pericles, the Athenian magistrates were authorized, for the first time, to require a remuneration from the suitors of their courts. In ancient Rome, the magistrates were wholly paid by the public; but Justinian allowed some magistrates of an inferior description to receive presents, of a fixed amount, from the suitors in their courts. Montesquieu† observes, that, “in the early ages of the feudal law, when legal proceedings were short and simple, the lord defrayed the whole expense of the administration of justice in his court. In proportion as society became refined, a more complex administration of justice became necessary; and it was considered that not only the party who was cast, should, for having instituted a bad cause, but that

* Iliad, lib. xviii. 503—508.

† Esprit des Loix, l. xxviii. ch. 35.

“the successful party should, for the benefit which he
 “had derived from the proceedings of the court, contri-
 “bute, in some degree, to the expenses attending them ;
 “and that the public, on account of the general benefit,
 “which it derived from the administration of justice,
 “should make up the deficiency.” To secure to the
 judges the proportion which the suitors were to contri-
 bute towards the expense of justice, it was provided, by
 an ordonnance of St. Louis, that, at the commencement
 of a suit, each party should deposit in court, the amount
 of one-tenth part of the property in dispute : that the
 tenth deposited by the unsuccessful party should be paid
 over to the judges on their passing sentence ; and that
 the tenth of the successful party should then be returned
 to him. This was varied by subsequent ordonnances :
 insensibly it became a custom for the successful party to
 wait on the judges, after sentence was passed, and, as an
 acknowledgment of their attention to the cause, to pre-
 sent them with a box of sweetmeats, which were then
 called *épices* or spices. By degrees, this custom became
 a legal perquisite of the judges ; it was converted into
 a present of money, and the payment of it required by
 the judges before the cause came to a hearing :—*Non
 deliberetur donec solventur species*, say some of the ancient
 registers of the parliaments of France. The practice
 was afterward abolished ; the amount of the *épices* was
 regulated ; and, in many cases, the taking of them was
 absolutely forbidden. Speaking generally, they were
 not payable till final judgment ; and, if the matter were
 not heard in court, but referred to a judge for him to hear
 and report his decision upon it to the court, he was ex-
 clusively entitled to the whole of the *épices*. Those
 among the magistrates, who were most punctual and dili-

gent in their attendance in court, and the discharge of their duty, had most causes referred to them, and were therefore richest in *épices* ; but the superior amount of them, however it might prove their superior exertions, added little to their fortune, as in the whole year, it did not often exceed 50*l.* and never 100*l.* The judges had some other perquisites, and also some remuneration from government ; but the amount of the perquisites and remuneration of any judge, excepting those of the presidents, amounted to little more than the *épices*. The presidents of the parliament had a higher remuneration ; but the price, which they paid for their offices, was proportionably higher ; and the whole sum received by any judge for his *épices*, perquisites, and other remunerations, fell short of the interest of the money, which he paid for the charge ; so that, virtually, the French judges administered justice, not only without salary, but even with some pecuniary loss. Their real remuneration was the rank and consideration, which their office gave them in society, and the respect and regard of their fellow-citizens. How well does this illustrate Montesquieu's aphorism, that the principle of the French monarchy was honour ? It may be truly said, that the world has not produced a more learned, enlightened, or honourable order of men, than the French magistracy.

Englishmen are much scandalized when they are informed that the *French judges were personally solicited* by the suitors in court, by their families and protectors, and by any other person whom the suitors thought likely to influence the decision of the cause in their favour. But it amounted to nothing: the judges listened to all these solicitations with equal external reverence, and internal indifference : and availed themselves of the first moment,

when it could be done with decency, to bow the parties respectfully out of the room : it was a *corvée* on their time, which they most bitterly lamented.

III. 3.

On the Limits of the Right of Courts of Judicature to interpret Laws.

MANY distinguished magistrates and advocates in France were declared enemies to the *latitude of legal interpretation*, in which the parliaments of France,—(the reader will bear in mind, that we consider them only as courts of judicature,)—too frequently indulged themselves.

It was of two sorts : Sometimes they signified their interpretation of law by *arrêts*, a species of judicial edict, having the effect of law within the jurisdiction of the parliament by which it was issued. To this kind of semi-legislative interpretation of law, nothing in England bears any resemblance. On other occasions, the French parliaments interpreted the law, as it is generally done in courts of justice, by decisions on dubious points. Their interpretations of it by *arrêts* was frequently censured, as amounting in effect to an act of legislation ; they were also reproached with carrying interpretation too far, in their decisions.

In the redaction of the *Code Civil de Napoléon*, this was a subject of much discussion. It gave rise to the fifth article of the preliminary title,—“On the publication, effects, and application of the laws.” The existence and extent of the mischief was admitted ; some proposed, by way of remedy, an article, expressing “that the judges should be forbidden to interpret the law by general and prospective regulations.” To this, others

objected, on the ground, that all interpretation of law was prohibited to judges, according to the maxim of the civil law, *imperatoris est interpretari legem*. To this it was replied, that there were two sorts of interpretation, one of legislation, the other of doctrine; that the first was prohibited to the judges, but that the second was essential to their office. The result of the discussion was, that, as the two sorts of interpretation were not easily distinguishable, it was better to omit the word interpretation. The article, therefore, was expressed in these words: "It is forbidden to the judge, to pronounce, by way of general and prospective regulation, on the causes which come before them.—*Il est défendu au juge, de prononcer par voie de disposition générale et réglementaire, sur les causes qui leur sont soumises.*"

That the right of interpretation should be vested in judges, no reasonable person can deny; but, to what extent it should be allowed, or, in other words to ascertain the exact point where judicial interpretation should stop, and legislative interpretation intervene, is a question of extreme difficulty. An English lawyer will perhaps admit, without any hesitation, that the decision of our courts, that after-purchased estates shall not pass by a previous will, was an exposition of the meaning of the word "having," in the statute of wills, which the courts were allowed to make, by the strictest rules of judicial interpretation; but he will, at least, doubt, whether the preservation of uses, under the application of trusts, both against the words and against the spirit of the statute of uses, was not a subject more proper for legislative than judicial provision.*

* The Reminiscent has frequently wished for leisure to compose a regular review of the *code civil*, the master-piece of Napoleon's legis-

III. 4.

Separation of Courts of Law and Equity.

EQUITY, as distinguished from law, arises from the inability of human foresight to establish any rule, which,

lation, and likely to become the civil code of the whole continent of Europe.

He was particularly pleased with the discussion *On the Interpretation of Laws*, with which the *Discussions sur le Code Civil* commence. He begs leave to detain his readers for a short time on this important subject.

He has long thought that no work would be more useful than one, which should show, where *interpretation* should stop, and *legislation* begin. The extent and uncertainty in the civil law, and, we are sorry to add, in our own, are chiefly owing to the want of ascertaining and observing this boundary. As far as the Reminiscent can learn, the French courts of justice have shown greater moderation than our own, in the exercise of this important duty of judicature. 1. The introduction of the practice of barring entails by common recoveries and fines, which the judges interpreted to be real, though they knew them to be fictitious processes: 2. The preservation,—already noticed,—of uses under the appellation of trusts, in the teeth of a solemn act of the legislature: 3. The various modes by which verbal agreements are supported against the statute of frauds: 4. And the doctrine, that notice of a deed shall supply the want of its registration, though otherwise essential to its validity,—are but a small proportion of the instances, in which the decisions of our courts have had something very like legislative enactment.

In the instance last cited, the courts of law of England and France are directly at variance: this circumstance appears to the Reminiscent to deserve particular mention.

Several points of the laws of France, respecting substitutions,—(or entails),—being unsettled, and the laws respecting them being different in different parts of the kingdom, they were all reduced into one law, by the celebrated ordonnance of August 1747. That ordonnance was framed by the chancellor d'Aguesseau, after taking

however salutary in general, is not, in some particular cases, evidently unjust and oppressive, and operates be-

the sentiments of every parliament in the kingdom, upon forty-five different questions. The thirty-ninth question is, "whether a creditor or purchaser,—having notice of the substitution,"—(that is, of the entail),—"before his contract, or purchase, is to be admitted to plead the want of its registration?" All the parliaments, except the parliament of Flanders, agreed that he was; that, to admit the contrary doctrine, would make it always open to argument, whether the party had notice of the substitution; that this would lead to endless uncertainty, confusion, and perjury; and that it was much better that the rights of subjects should depend upon certain and fixed principles of law, than upon rules and constructions of equity, which must be arbitrary and consequently uncertain. The ordonnance of August 1747, was framed accordingly. Those, who have commented upon that ordonnance, lay it down as a fixed and undeniable principle, that nothing, not even the most actual and direct notice, supplies the want of registration; so that, if a person be a witness, or even a party to the deed of substitution or entail, still, if it be not registered, he may safely purchase, or lend money upon a mortgage of the property substituted.* Thus the legislature of France having

* See "*Questions concernant les Substitutions, Toulouse, 1770;*" and "*Commentaire de l'Ordonnance de Louis XV, par M. Furgole, à Paris, 1767.*" It is remarkable that the same principle has been received into the *Code Civil de Napoléon*. See articles 1060 and 1072.

Perhaps interpretative legislation was never carried so far as in the decisions upon the Annuity Act of 1777: it was construed by Lord Kenyon with severity, by his successors with laxity, almost entirely abrogated by a new act:—and this new act lately became the subject of a new legislative enactment.

One of the faults both of legislation and judicature, is, that when they condemn a practice, but dare not proscribe it altogether, they increase its difficulty and expense. It often happens, that this has no other effect, than increasing the grievances of those who are intended to be relieved. The act of 1777, did not prevent the grant of a single annuity, but, by making the security more hazardous, lessened, at least by one year's purchase, the sum, which the grantor of the annuity received for the grant,

yond or in opposition to its intent. 'A question has been frequently made, whether the judicial administration of law and equity ought to be committed to the same, or to different courts. "In some states," says lord Bacon,* "that jurisdiction, which decrees according to equity and "moral right, and that which decrees according to strict "right, is committed to the same court; in others, they "are committed to different courts. We entirely opine "for the separation of the courts: for the distinction of "the cases will not long be attended to, if the jurisdic- "tions meet in the same person; and the will of the "judge will then master the law."

The grand reason for the interference of a court of equity is, that the imperfection of legal remedy in consequence of the universality of legislative provisions, may be redressed. Hence, for a length of time after the introduction of equitable judicature into this country, it was thought necessary that, before equity should interfere, this imperfection should be manifested by the party's previously proceeding at law, so far as to show, from its result, the want or inadequacy of legal redress, and his claim for equitable relief. This inflicted upon him two judicial suits, and consequently a double expense. To remedy this grievance, it became the practice, par-

made the registration of a deed necessary, in some instances, to its validity, its courts of justice refused to except from the general provision, those cases where a subsequent purchaser or mortgagee of the property has notice of the deed, and is not therefore injured by its want of registration. A contrary system has been adopted by the courts of equity of this country: many and great inconveniences have followed, and we believe that its adoption is now generally lamented.

* De Aug. Scient. s. viii. c. 3. aph. 45.

ticularly from the time in which the seals were entrusted to Lord Cowper, to dispense with the previous legal suit, when the want or inadequacy of the legal remedy to be obtained by it, was evident.

Still, in many cases, this separation of the courts makes a double suit necessary. When the facts of a case, as they appear in a suit in equity, are so doubtful that the chancellor will not undertake to pronounce upon them, he always sends them for a trial at law. In the same manner, when the construction of a limitation of an equitable estate is very doubtful, he frequently sends it to the judges of a legal court, to receive their interpretation; but ultimately he exercises his own judgment on its merits. Add to this, that, in many cases, the controversy as to some part of the property is legal, and as to the other, equitable, and then the courts and the evidence admitted by them being different, distinct pleading and distinct evidence must be produced for each suit.

In every event, the separation of the courts inflicts on every suitor the necessity of determining a preliminary point, always of great importance, and sometimes of extreme difficulty,—whether his case is to be governed by the rules of law, or the rules of equity. But the difficulty does not rest here, as the complainant is often ignorant whether he is to be resisted by a legal or an equitable defence, and must therefore be ignorant to which judicature it is advisable for him to resort. As far as the researches of the Reminiscent on this subject have extended, they have led him to believe that the separation of the courts is peculiar to England.*

* Sir William Blackstone mentions, in his Commentaries, that “under the ancient provisions of the second statute of Westminster, the courts of law were furnished with powers, which might have

He begs leave to take this opportunity of mentioning an observation, which has occurred to him in the perusal of the decisions of foreign courts of justice, and the works of foreign jurists. Whoever reads either our books of reports, or our legal publications, must observe the countless citations in them of adjudged cases, and the great paucity of references to legal publications. On the other hand, adjudged cases are very seldom cited in foreign books of reports, or in foreign legal publications. This is a curious circumstance: the Reminiscent has frequently remarked it to foreign lawyers of the greatest eminence, but never heard it satisfactorily accounted for.

III. 5.

Redactions and Reforms of the French Customary and Statute Law—The Code Napoléon.

THE reader will not, perhaps, be displeased with a farther notice of the Code Napoléon: but we must first mention a noble undertaking which had been carried on for a considerable length of time in France, and was near its completion, when, with many other extensive and salutary projects, it was overturned by the revolution. We allude to the redaction and reformation of the customary laws of its different provinces.

We learn that this design was conceived in the reign of Charles the seventh. Soon after he had expelled the English from France, he published an ordonnance, by which he directed all the customs and usages of his king-

effectually answered all the purposes of a court of equity, except that of obtaining a discovery by the party's oath." Does not this suggest reflections, which, if ably and maturely weighed, might lead to legislative provisions, by which the jurisprudence of this country might be immensely ameliorated?

dom to be committed to writing, to be verified by the practitioners of each place, and to be sanctioned by the great council and parliament; the customs thus sanctioned, and those only, were from that time to have the force of law. But, such were the obstacles in the way of this measure, that forty-two years elapsed before the customs of any one place were verified. Until the reign of Lewis the twelfth, the measure lingered; it was then resumed, and about the year 1609, the redaction of the customs was completed. Those of Paris, Orleans, Normandy, and some other places, were soon afterward reformed: those of Artois and St. Omer's underwent a similar revision about the middle of the last century; and the reformation of the others was nearly finished. The ultimate object of the plan was to abolish all local customs; and, from the general body of the customary law, and the doctrines of the civil law, to establish an uniformity of jurisprudence throughout the kingdom. It was a favourite object of the Chancellor d'Aguesseau: and he had digested it into a regular plan.

In the reign of Louis the fourteenth, much was done for the improvement of the national jurisprudence of France: the French lawyers speak in the highest terms of several of his ordonnances; we are assured by them that they contain the wisest and most salutary regulations, methodically arranged, and clearly expressed. Certain it is, that, in every maritime state of Europe, his *Ordonnance sur la Marine* is read and admired. The late Mr. Sergeant Hill always mentioned it in terms of the highest praise. During the reign of Louis the fifteenth, little was accomplished in the prosecution of this object; but, in the early days of the French revolution, its admirers foretold the wonderful improvements which the na-

tional assembly would effect in government and law. Other constitutions, it was said, had been fortuitously framed ; their parts had been composed to meet present emergencies, and constituted no systematic whole ; they contained many discordant principles, many jarring forms, much unmixed evil, some imperfect good, many institutions which had long survived their motive, and many of which reason had never been the author, or utility the object. The legislators of the revolution were to produce a very different code. *They* were to tolerate nothing of antiquity which reason did not respect ; to shrink from no novelty, to which reason might lead ; to despise narrow coastings, and to hazard, under the polarity of reason, a bolder navigation ; to discover, in unexplored regions, the treasure of public felicity ; and to diffuse it, in their legislative enactments, through every portion of the Gallic empire. Such were the splendid prophesies of the effects of the new jurisprudence ;—it is unnecessary to add how little the effects of *the new constitution* corresponded with the prediction : yet, let us be just,—if it had not been for the unwise, the illaudable, and the disastrous coalition of Austria and Prussia against France, and their invasion of her territory, the constitutional assembly *might* have done good.

The fate of the first legislators of the revolution did not deprive them of a tribe of imitators.

In the midst of his victories Napoléon, aspired to legislative fame. The Reminiscent apprehends, that the five codes of law, compiled under the eye of Napoléon, though in some respects imperfect, will always be highly honourable to his memory. He himself thought so favourably of them, as to express to a friend of the Reminiscent, a wish, that he might descend to posterity with

these in his hands. It is greatly to be desired, that some one, properly qualified for the task, would favour the public with a comparative view of their leading principles, and those of the law of England. Unfortunately, such a work can be expected from none but a person who is at once conversant with the principles, the theory, and the practice of the jurisprudence of both countries :—and *Romilly* is now no more.

The *Discussions sur le Code Civil* show the manner in which that code was compiled : Napoléon appears in them to great advantage. The magistrates, who assisted at them, possessed unquestionably great talents ; but Napoléon frequently enters the list with them, generally shows himself their equal, at times their superior, and always takes the humane and liberal side. It adds to his honour, that between him and his assessors, no distinction of rank is ever discernible : Pliny could not act with greater ease, or speak with more freedom before Trajan, than the assessors of Napoléon acted and spoke before him.

On one question of the very highest importance, —whether it be most for the advantage of a nation that it should have few or many courts of judicature, —England and France are now directly at issue. With the exception of a few local jurisdictions, the judicial establishments in England are confined to the chancellor, the vice-chancellor, the master of the rolls, twelve judges, six masters in chancery, and some masters or officers resembling them in the other courts ; in France there are at least 600 courts, and 5,600 judges :—in addition, each kingdom has its justices of peace ; in France, they amount to 27,000.

Nothing shows the difficulty of introducing a constitutional innovation with a salutary effect more than the fate of the establishment of juries in France. It was supposed that, as soon as the nation should have a judge and twelve men to try their civil or criminal causes, they would obtain a judicial court, perfectly resembling that of an English judge with his English jury. Under this impression, they constituted courts, in which one man was to preside and propound the law, and twelve were to decide the fact; but they did not recollect that to make this institution resemble our jury courts, centuries ought previously to have existed, and to have incorporated into every jury an habitual confidence in the judge, an habitual deference to every thing that should fall from him, and an habitual respect for their own important character,—and to have equally instilled into the judge a sincere respect for the jury; a consciousness that he was watched, and might, in case of error, be exposed; and, that though the jurymen were silent, they were not without attention, and something bordering on jealousy. The consequence has been, that no two things are more dissimilar for practical purposes, than the juries of England and the juries of France.

Cross-examination is sometimes abused; but it is certainly the surest method of eliciting truth that has been devised. When the affair of the necklace of the late queen of France was in agitation, a person observed to lord Thurlow, that the repeated examinations of the parties in France had cleared up nothing: "True," said his lordship, "but Buller, Garrow, and a Middlesex jury, would, if such a matter had been brought before them, have made it all, in half an hour, as clear as day-light."

III. 6.

The order of Avocats in France, and its extinction in the French Revolution.

THE French *avocat* nearly resembled in rank and function, the English barrister. In the very earliest era of the history of France, her lawyers formed a distinguished portion of her community; so early as in the reign of Tiberius, the city of Autun had schools of eloquence and law, which contained 60,000 students. In 297, the orator Eumenius presided over them, and received for it a salary of 600,000 sesterces, or about 2,880*l.* of our money. The schools of Toulouse, Bourdeaux, Marseilles, Lyons, Trèves, and Besançon, were also celebrated. When the Franks possessed themselves of Gaul, they respected the profession of the *avocat*, and their most powerful nobles solicited the office of *Avoué* or *Avocat* of a religious or civil community; but, in those turbulent times, it was as much a military as a civil advocacy. The profession of *avocat* maintained its consideration till the division of the *Francic* empire, in 814, among the sons of Charlemagne. In the troubles which immediately followed that event, it almost vanished; but it re-appeared to advantage in the reign of St. Louis. The Parliament of France was made sedentary at Paris by Philip le Bel; and soon after this event, the *avocats* were formed into a distinct class, with many rights, and under many obligations, by the *ordonnances* of Philip de Valois in 1327 and in 1344; but disdaining the more common denomination of a *body*, they assumed, in analogy to the *order of the nobility*, and the *order of the clergy*, the denomination of *l'Ordre des Avocats*.

Bartoli, the oracle of the law in the fourteenth century, asserted* that at the end of the tenth year of successful professional exertion, the *avocat* became *ipso facto* a knight. A more moderate opinion assigned to him, at that period of his career, no more than a fair pretension to the honour of forensic knighthood. It has not been discovered by the Reminiscent, that a forensic order of knighthood was ever known in England; but in France, Italy, and Germany, it was an order frequently conferred on the successful practitioner at the bar. When it was applied for, the king commissioned some ancient knight of the forensic order to admit the postulant into it. The postulant knelt before the knight-commissary, and said, "I pray you, my lord and my protector, to dress me with the sword, belt, golden spurs, golden collar, golden ring, and all the other ornaments of a true knight. I will not use the advantages of knighthood for profane purposes; I will use them only for the purposes of religion, for the church, and the holy Christian faith, in the warfare of the science to which I am devoted." The postulant then rose; and, being fully equipped, and girded with the sword, he became, for all purposes, a member of the order of knighthood, and entitled to a full participation of all the rights of military knights. In the *Memoirs of the Maréchal de Vieille-Ville*, who died in 1571, such knights are mentioned as very common, but they are treated somewhat disrespectfully by the old maréchal, though one of his own sons-in-law was a knight of that description. It does not appear that they wore their equestrian costume in the courts; but, as Beaumanoir declares it to have been a general rule, in his time,

* Ad librum 1. Cod. de professoribus,

that the *avocât*, who was followed by one horse only, should not have as large a fee as an *avocât* who was followed by two, three, four, or more horses, we must suppose they were attended to the courts by esquires.

In many of the most distinguished civil and ecclesiastical events in the French history, as the two disputes on the Salique law, the troubles of the Jacquerie, the disputes between Pope Boniface and Philip le Bel, the League and Fronde, and the recent disputes on Jansenism, the order of *avocats* acted an important part.

On several occasions the order proceeded in direct opposition to the crown. In general the parliament led the way, and the order fought under their banners. In these contests, when matters came to an extremity, the parliament and *avocats* discontinued their functions. This amounted to an absolute suspension of justice, and the disputes generally terminated by the submission of the monarch.

In 1771, the parliaments, and many leading *avocats*, were banished, and new courts of justice established. At the end of three years the king found it necessary to recall the banished members, and restore the ancient courts.

In 1790, the French National Assembly determined on an entire new organization of the administration of justice, but were not unwilling to preserve the subsisting members of the order of *avocats*, who with the numerous associates which the new order of things must necessarily give them, should practise in the courts to be established for the administration of justice under the new régime. The leading *avocats* of Paris, after several meetings on the subject, rejected the plan. They foresaw that the new *avocats* would have nothing of the learning, the principles, the character, or public respect of *the order*.

“The public,” they said, “will confound the latter with the former. To avoid such a posterity, our only means is to suppress our name and our order, so that, after we shall cease to exist, there shall be no *avocat* in France. Sole depositaries of that noble state, let us not permit it to be sullied by transmitting it to successors; unworthy of us. We pray, therefore, for its instant extinction.”

The assembly was moved to tears by this discourse, and in compliance with it, on the 11th of September, 1795, suppressed the order of *avocats*, their name, their costume, and every thing else that belonged to them. “Thus perished,” says the writer, from whom these details have been extracted, “this celebrated corporation, which, under the name of *l'Ordre des Avocats*, had counted 427 years of a brilliant existence, and the renown of which had spread over all Europe.”*

“The duke de Grammont asked the chancellor d’Aguesseau on some occasion, whether, with his experience of the chicanery in legal processes, and of their length, he had never thought of some regulation, which would put an end to them?—‘I had gone so far,’ replied the chancellor, ‘as to commit a plan of such a regulation to writing; but, after I made some progress, I reflected on the great number of *avocats*, attorneys, and officers of justice, whom it would ruin: compassion for them made the pen fall from my hand. The length and number of lawsuits confer on the gentlemen of the long robe their wealth and authority; one must there-

* *Histoire des Avocats au Parlement et au Bureau de Paris, depuis St. Louis jusqu’au 15 Octobre 1790.* Par M. Tournel, ancien avocat au parlement de Paris.

“ fore continue to permit their infant growth and everlasting endurance.” This anecdote is taken from the *Memoirs of the Duke de St. Simon* ;* the editor of that work shrewdly remarks, that, “ if a person should consider the immense sums of money which the crown acquires, in various forms, from lawsuits, he would soon perceive that the lawyers are not the sole gainers by them ; and therefore not the only persons interested in their preservation.”†

III. 7.

Some Remarks on the English Law of Property.

THE actual jurisprudence of the law of England is not entitled to the praise of simplicity : that branch of it, which the Reminiscent has professed during almost half a century, the jurisprudence of its real and personal property—is singularly and surprisingly complicated.

This is occasioned, principally, by five circumstances :
1. The perpetual conflict between the *law of tenure* and the *law of contract*. During many centuries, all the real property of the nation was governed by the former, and the latter was not judicially acknowledged. When it was introduced under the appellation of trusts, the obligations which it created, were merely honorary : to give them effect it was found necessary to invest the court of

* *Œuvres complètes de Louis de St. Simon*. Tom. ix. p. 12.

† Throughout the whole of this article the Reminiscent has particularly availed himself of an excellent work recommended to him by the late Sir Samuel Romilly, “ *De l'origine et du progrès de la législation Française, ou l'histoire du droit public et privé de la France, depuis la fondation de la monarchie, jusques et compris la Révolution. Par M. Bernardi, de l'Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, Paris, 8vo. 1806.*”

chancery with powers unknown to the laws and constitution of the country. This produced the distinct and discordant classes of legal and equitable rights, and legal and equitable courts for enforcing them. 2. The same cause produced differences in real and personal property, in the important articles of succession and settlement. In the civil law, these differences are altogether unknown. 3. The feudal restrictions on alienation did not exist in the civil law; there, of course, the devices to elude it had no existence; and, consequently, it was without the abstruse and complicated doctrines of discontinuances, lineal, and collateral warranties, fines and recoveries. 4. The substitutions of the Roman law were extremely simple; our entails are singularly complicated; the consequence has been, that the modifications of property, received into the law of England, are numerous and refined, and years of profound study are necessary to enable a person to acquire a full and accurate knowledge of their nature and incidents. 5. According to the English law, property, speaking generally, cannot be settled without the intervention of trustees; hence, half the property of the land is vested in nominal owners; and a multitude of very nice cases incessantly occur, in which it is difficult to ascertain whether third persons are safe in dealing for fiduciary property with its trustee, without the concurrence of the beneficial owner. In most countries on the continent, the claims of the beneficial owner on the trustee are personal upon him, and the trustee is the real owner, for all purposes, in respect to the public.

It must, however, be added, that the judicial system of property received in England, though complicated, is perfect, both in theory and for practical objects. Every

intelligent person must consider with admiration, how completely a marriage settlement or a will, when it is properly prepared, confers the beneficial ownership on the temporary possessor, for every legitimate purpose, while his abuse of it is prevented. He must also admire the good sense, with which the present system of entailing property has been formed ; which, while it provides for the perpetuation of a numerous and respectable aristocracy, leaves a sufficient proportion of land in commerce, to answer the demands of individuals, and to effectuate the general object of the national policy, that the owners of personal property should both have opportunities of realizing it, and be allured to its realization by the superior stability of landed property, and the importance which the ownership of it confers.

This, it is known, has been effected by the establishment of a general rule, that the absolute ownership of property may be suspended from vesting in any one during the life of a person in being at the time of the creation of the entail, and a farther period of twenty-one years, to be computed from his decease ; but that, at the end of this period, the entail shall cease of itself in some cases, and be barable in others. The series of decisions, by which this salutary rule has been established, may be traced to the time of Charles the second, and was not perfected till the last reign. However abstruse and complicated it may be, the system is coherent ; the decisions, upon which it is founded, are countless, but they all converge to the same result,—an incontestible proof of the great good sense, the profound knowledge of law, and the mature deliberation, with which they have been framed.

The complicated nature of the modification of property in England has given its legal instruments a length un-

known on the continent ; but even on the continent, the length of legal instruments has been an incessant subject both of complaint and ridicule. Considering the multitude of combinations, of which even the most ordinary and simple transactions are susceptible, the necessity of providing for them all, and the accuracy of the terms in which this must be effected, it is obvious that some prolixity and minuteness of form, and some verbosity are necessary. But it admits of no doubt that these have been carried to excess : this has been most sensibly felt since the stamp laws have added so considerably to the expense of legal instruments and forensic proceedings. Of late, a great disposition has existed in the profession to shorten legal instruments, and to expunge much of their unnecessary tautology. To this system of curtailment, the Reminiscent hopes that he and his school,—(it must be acknowledged that they do him great honour,)—will be thought to have contributed ; but much, certainly, remains to be done : yet, when forms, however prolix, have been found to answer their purpose, experienced practitioners only should tamper with them ; it should not, however, be forgotten, that attempts to lengthen are at least as dangerous as attempts to shorten them.*

* The length of legal instruments is often owing to the necessity of providing for a multiplicity of contingent events, each of which *may* happen, and must, therefore, be both fully described, and fully provided for. Of the nature and extent of this multiplicity, the party himself is seldom aware : sometimes even his professional adviser does not feel it, until he begins to frame the necessary clauses. A gentleman, upon whose will the Reminiscent was consulted, had six estates of unequal value, and wished to settle one on each of his sons and his male issue, with successive limitations over to the other sons and their respective male issue, in the ordinary mode of strict settle-

III. 8.

Course of Study of the law of Real Property recommended.

HERE the Reminiscent begs leave to mention the best mode of acquiring the knowledge of the law of England respecting property, which his experience suggests.

ment; and with a provision, that, in the event of the death and failure of issue male of any of the sons, the estate devised to him, should shift from him and his issue male to the next taker and his issue male, and failing these, to the persons claiming under the other limitations; with a further proviso, that such next taker's estate, should then shift in like manner to the taker next after him, and the persons claiming under the other limitations. It was considered, at first, that this might be effected by one proviso; then, by two; and then by six; but upon a full investigation, it was found that it required as many provisos as there can be combinations of the number 6;—Now,—

$$1 \times 2 \times 3 \times 4 \times 5 \times 6 = 720.$$

Consequently, to give complete effect to the intention of the testator, 720 provisos were necessary.

By a similar calculation, if a deed, which the Reminiscent was instructed to prepare, had been executed, the expense of the necessary stamps would have amounted to ninety millions seven hundred and twenty two thousand pounds. Ten persons, each of whom was possessed of landed property, having engaged in a mining adventure, a deed of partnership was to be prepared, which was to contain a stipulation that, if any one or more of the intended partners should advance money to any other or others of them, the money lent should be a charge in the nature of a mortgage, upon the share or respective shares of the borrower, or respective borrowers, and overreach all subsequent charges,—thus the charges were to be considered, in effect, as mortgages actually made by the deed. Thus, in the contemplation of equity, the estate was actually to be subjected by the deed to as many possible mortgages as there can be combinations of the number 10. Each of these possible mortgages being for an indefinite sum, would require the 25*l.* stamp: Now,—

$$25 \times 2 \times 3 \times 4 \times 5 \times 6 \times 7 \times 8 \times 9 \times 10 = 90,720,000.$$

The student should begin by reading "*Littleton's Tenures*," with extreme attention, meditating on every word, and framing every section into a diagram; abstaining altogether from the commentary, but perusing "*Gilbert's Tenures*." After this, he should peruse "*Sir Martin Wright's Tenures*, and *Mr. Watkins' Treatise on Descents*;" and then give Littleton's Tenures a second perusal. After this second perusal of the text, he should peruse it a third time, with "*the Commentary of Lord Coke*," and afterward peruse "*Sheppard's Touchstone*," in *Mr. Preston's invaluable edition* of that work. The Reminiscent presumes to suggest, that the student may then usefully peruse "*the notes on feuds, on uses, and on trusts*," in the last edition of Coke upon Littleton; and then read Littleton and Coke, and *the notes of the last editors*.

The Reminiscent may appear to recommend too much attention to Littleton and Coke: but he never yet has met with a person, thoroughly conversant in the law of real property, who did not think with him,—that *he* is the best lawyer, and will succeed best in his profession, who best understands Coke upon Littleton. Against one error, he begs leave particularly to caution the student: not to suspect, for a moment, that, because he himself does not see the utility of what he reads in this work, or the application of the part of it which he is reading, to any practical purpose, it is therefore useless. There is not, in the whole of the golden book, a single line, which the student will not, in his professional career, find, on more than one occasion, eminently useful.

Being thus saturated with the venerable black letter, he should peruse, but with the most profound attention, "*Mr. Saunders' Treatise on Uses and Trusts*, and *Mr.*

"*Preston's Treatises on Fines and Recoveries*," and then proceed to "*Mr. Fearne's Essay on Contingent Remainders*, and *Mr. Sugden's, on Powers*." After this, he should read for law, "*Plowden's Commentaries*;" for equity, the article "*Chancery, in Comyns' Abridgment*;" comparing it throughout with "*Mr. Peere Williams' Reports*," in *Mr. Cox's* edition, and reading all the cases to which these refer. His own experience and feelings will then direct his future studies.

But, in the outset of his study, he should place himself with some professional gentleman engaged in drawing conveyances or forensic proceedings; and, as far as it is compatible with this engagement, should attend the courts of justice.

The whole course of study suggested by the Reminiscent may be achieved in four years, if they are employed in the manner described in the well-known verses of lord Coke,—

Sex horas somno, totidem des legibus æquis,
Quatuor orabis, des epulisque duas;
Quod superest, sacris ultro largire camœnis.*

* When the jesuits settled the plan of education to be observed in the Collège de Clermont, the physicians were consulted on the portion of time, which the students should be allowed for sleep; they declared that five hours were a sufficient, six an abundant allowance, and seven as much as a youthful constitution would bear without injury.

The college falling into decay, it was re-edified by Louis the fourteenth, and received the appellation of the Collège de Louis le Grand. Upon this occasion, a poetical exercise alluding to it was required from the students.—The city of Nola had recently given them the Collegio del *Arco*, and they were in possession of the Collège de la *Flèche* in France. Alluding to these, a saucy boy wrote the following verses, and the professor good humouredly assigned him the prize:—

If the student cannot bestow the whole of this period on legal reading, he should peruse "*Mr. Cruise's Digest*," an able abridgment, but not without original matter, of the most useful parts of all the works, which we have recommended to the student's perusal.

It remains for the Reminiscent to enter his protest against the general opinion, that the law is a dry and unpleasant study: such, he never found it, and such, he believes, it has never been found by any person, who has applied himself to it with sufficient natural and acquired endowments and a determined resolution not to be disheartened by its first difficulties.

"I am not afraid to affirm," says Cicero, with honest or affected prejudice, "that the brief compositions of the *Decemvirs* surpass in genuine value the libraries of Grecian philosophers." Gray, with more moderation and justness, says in one of his letters to Mr. West, "Laws have been the result of long deliberation; and that, not of dull men, but the contrary; and have so close a connexion with history, nay with philosophy itself, that they must partake of what they are related to, so nearly."*

*"Arcum Nola dedit patribus, dedit alma Sagittam
Gallia,—quis FUNEM quam meruere, dabit."*

The saucy boy was afterward the cardinal de Polignac.

It is observable that lord Coke, by his verses in the text, recommends to his students, just twice as much time for prayer, and twice as much for their meals, as the jesuits prescribed to their students.

* How greatly is it to be lamented, that a person with the mind of Gray, and his talents for composition, both in poetry and prose, should have consumed so much of his time in framing tables of botany and chronology!

IV.

THE REMINISCENT'S ESSAY ON HOUSES OF INDUSTRY—
MR. PITT'S BILL FOR THE RELIEF OF THE POOR.

THE Reminiscent must now introduce himself to his readers.

He first appeared before the public, in an anonymous *Essay on Houses of Industry*,—one of the many well-meant, but unavailing attempts, which were made during the last century, to ameliorate the condition of the poor. The county of Norfolk, which had been long split into a court and a country party, was divided in opinion on the probable utility of the scheme. It was advocated by the former, and a difference of sentiment prevailed among the latter. Sir Harbord Harbord, afterward advanced to a peerage under the title of Baron Suffield, and Mr. Chad, afterward created a baronet,—the friend of the Reminiscent through life,—opposed it: Mr. Potter, the translator of *Æschylus*, wrote a pamphlet in recommendation of it; to this, the Reminiscent, at the request of Sir Harbord Harbord and Mr. Chad, replied by the essay, which he has mentioned. It had some circulation in the county, but very little beyond it. The writer has not seen it within the last forty years, and has even forgotten its title. He thinks it was published in 1773.

The success of the plan appeared to him problematical:—he recollects that he then began to entertain an opinion, which now seems general, that, in the whole system of the poor laws, there is something radically, but incurably wrong. A gentleman, on whose authority he can depend, told him, that Mr. Pitt, being on a visit in Essex, descanted with great satisfaction; on the prospe-

rous state of the country, and particularly, on the comfortable condition of the poor. His host let the discourse drop; but contrived that, on the following day, Mr. Pitt should walk into the adjoining town of Halsted. It presented a spectacle of the utmost poverty and wretchedness:—he surveyed it for sometime in wonder and silence; and then declared that he had no conception that England presented, in any part of it, such a scene: he made a liberal donation to its distressed inhabitants, and soon afterward brought into parliament a bill for the relief of the poor.—Nothing can show the unmanageable nature of the subject more than the fate of this bill: a slight discussion of it discovered its absolute impracticability; yet Mr. Pitt possessed talents of uncommon magnitude, and had every assistance in forming and arranging the bill, which the experience and ingenuity of others could supply.

V.

THE REMINISCENT'S ESSAY ON IMPRESSING SEAMEN— EARL OF SANDWICH.

THE writer's next publication, was a pamphlet of somewhat greater consequence, intituled,—An "ESSAY ON THE LEGALITY OF IMPRESSING SEAMEN:" it was more favourably received, and went through two editions. It introduced the writer to the acquaintance of the earl of Sandwich, then the first lord of the admiralty: some pages in the second edition were written by his lordship. It first appeared in the year 1778.—It was occasioned by attempts, which were made, at that time, to persuade the public, that the practice of impressing was contrary

both to the law and constitution of Great Britain. This notion was particularly patronised by the honourable Temple Luttrell, an active member of the opposition. Ministers were afraid of the consequences, and lord North desired the late Mr. Thomas Astle, the keeper of the records in the Tower,—a gentleman singularly respected and loved,—to procure a publication in its defence. He proposed it to the *Reminiscent*: this gave rise to the pamphlet we have mentioned: it was much read, and was even said to settle the question.

The principal arguments and authorities which it contained, were taken from the speech of Sir Michael Foster, (formerly recorder of Bristol, and afterward deservedly advanced to be one of the judges of the court of King's Bench,) in the case of Alexander Broadfoot, indicted for the murder of a sailor who was one of a party that endeavoured to impress him. *Some* additional facts and arguments are adduced in the *Reminiscent's* pamphlet; but, on a recent perusal of it, he found them so few, that, particularly as the object has long ceased to be a topic of discussion, he would not give it a place in the general collection of his works.

The pamphlet was dedicated to lord Rosslyn, at this time, his majesty's solicitor-general, and procured for the *Reminiscent* repeated instances of the good will of that distinguished person. The public did not do his lordship justice; his dereliction of the whigs, to whom he had originally attached himself, in his political career, excited a prejudice against him, from which he never recovered. But his talents, his munificence, his steadiness in friendship, and his literary endowments, it is impossible to deny: the *Reminiscent* found him on every occasion a warm and an active friend.

VI.

THE SPEECH OF THE LATE EARL OF SANDWICH, IN
DEFENCE OF HIS ADMINISTRATION OF GREENWICH HOS-
PITAL.

Lord Erskine's First Speech.

IT has been mentioned, that his essay on the legality of impressing Seamen, introduced the writer to the earl of Sandwich. In 1779, a Captain Baillie published a work, which severely reflected on his lordship's administration of GREENWICH HOSPITAL; it accused him of neglect and corruption, and of conferring almost all places of rank and emolument in the hospital on land-men; and thus making its patronage subservient to his lordship's Huntingdonshire politics. His lordship moved, in the court of King's Bench, for a criminal information against the captain. Mr. Erskine defended him; it was the first time that he advocated a cause in any court of justice; and never did a first speech elevate an advocate, so instantly, into eminence; he retained it until, at the close of his forensic career, he was advanced to the office of chancellor.

The eloquence of this remarkable man, was an era at the bar. His addresses to juries have not been equalled; they alike captivated their understandings, their imaginations, and their passions. He often rose to the highest oratory; but it was always simple; and even in his sublimest flights, there was much that was very familiar; but this rather set off than clouded their splendour, rather increased than diminished their general effect. His skill in the conduct of a cause, and in the examination of wit-

nesses, has never been surpassed ; his discretion never forsook him, even in his highest forensic enthusiasm ; his manners were always most gentlemanly ; at the bar he was uniformly loved and admired ; and, when he accepted the seals, no one, as lord Eldon justly remarked of him, could have a greater wish to discharge properly the office which was conferred on him, or greater talents to qualify him for a proper discharge of it. A true friend to constitutional liberty, he was its constant and animated advocate ; but he never failed in respect to the crown, or sacrificed to the prejudices or vagaries of the populace.—It is highly to the credit of the two noble lords, that, though the difference of their politics repeatedly placed them in a state of forensic conflict, neither ever said that to the other, or of the other, which it was unpleasing to him to hear. This circumstance lord Erskine himself noticed to the Reminiscent.

Lord Erskine's speech against the information, for which lord Sandwich applied, was successful : the information was refused, and prejudice ran high against the noble peer. This produced an inquiry, in the house of lords, into his lordship's management of Greenwich hospital. It was conducted by the duke of Richmond with ability, and the most pertinacious and persevering industry. Lord Sandwich entrusted his defence to the Reminiscent :—his labour was great,—and, as it led to no information that could be of use to him on any future occasion, was most ungrateful. He prepared the speech, which his lordship delivered in his defence : it was favourably received both by the house and the public :—some other papers circulated by his lordship on this occasion were also prepared by him.

Lord Sandwich might serve as a model for a man of

business.—He rose early, and, till a late dinner, dedicated his whole time to business ; he was very methodical ; slow, not wearisome ; cautious, not suspicious ; rather a man of sense than a man of talent ; he had much real good nature ; his promises might be relied on. His manners partook of the old court ; and he possessed, in a singular degree, the art of attaching persons of every rank to him. Few houses were more pleasant or instructive than his lordship's : it was filled with rank, beauty and talent, and every one was at ease. He professed to be fond of music, and musicians flocked to him ; he was the soul of the catch club, and one of the directors of the concert of ancient music ;—but,—(which is the case of more than one noble and more than one gentle amateur,)—he had not the least real ear for music, and was equally insensible of harmony and melody.

VII.

LETTER ON JUNIUS.

ABOUT this time the Reminiscent amused himself in an inquiry, the result of which he afterward stated in a private letter to a friend, who, without his knowledge, and much against his will, almost immediately published it in the *Anti-jacobin Review*. As it is very harmless, and contains some particulars on a subject, in which the public has taken, and still continues to take, great interest,—the authorship of the celebrated letters under the name of JUNIUS,—the author gives it a place in these pages.

The inquiry was made by him in conjunction with Mr. Wilkes,—a delightful and instructive companion,—but

too often offensive by his freedom of speech, when religion or the sex was mentioned. The writer's acquaintance with him did not begin till his political turmoils were at an end. In his manner and habits, he was an elegant epicurean, yet it was evident to all his intimates that he feared,

"Manes aliquos et subterranea regna."—*Juvenal.*

In his real politics he was an aristocrat, and would much rather have been a favoured courtier at Versailles, than the most commanding orator in St. Stephen's chapel. His distresses threw him into politics; he assumed the character of a staunch whig, and all must admit his consistency.

He thought highly of the talents and firmness of the late king,—and was persuaded that a ministry protected by him could not, without some singular blunder, or some event singularly unlucky, be shaken by any opposition. He predicted that the coalition between lord North and Mr. Fox would produce a total disbelief of the public virtue of the Corinthian order of politicians, and create a party equally hostile to ministers and the opposition-aristocracy. He said, that the distinction which has been supposed to exist between the friends of the king and the friends of the minister, originated in the councils of lord Bath when he went over to the ministry, on his dereliction of the popular party. The influence of the crown, he described to be irresistible.

In one of the conversations, which Mr. Fox permitted the writer of these pages to hold with him, that great man expressed the same opinion on the magnitude of this influence. He said that no one could conceive its extent and effect, who had not had opportunities of observing its direct or indirect operation on every state

and condition of life. "While Mr. Pitt," he said, "was in office, you all attributed, in some degree at least, his overwhelming majorities, to his talents and eloquence; these, I am as willing as any one can be, to admit; but you now have Mr. Addington, and the majorities do not decrease." Might it not have been observed to Mr. Fox, that he himself had in some measure been the cause of these majorities? Had there been no coalition, no India bill, no assertion of the prince's right to the regency, nothing, in short, in the politics of Mr. Fox, which had prejudiced,—justly or unjustly, we do not say,—a very large portion of the people of England against him, might not he and the illustrious band which surrounded him, have been able, we will not say, to make the minister surrender at discretion, but to lessen considerably his majorities, and thus reduce him to terms? Perhaps the existence of this overpowering influence, so often mentioned, and so seldom justly appreciated, may be thought questionable until we shall see, what England has not seen since the meridian glory of lord Chatham, an opposition which not only consists of men of splendid talents and acknowledged integrity, but which possesses, in addition to these, the confidence and attachment of the general body of the people, and is called by them, loudly and distinctly into office.* How often might opposition have told the minis-

* See Mr. Burke's confession in his curious Letter to Mr. Fox, (Works, vol. x. p. 148,) that "the people were not attached to the leaders of opposition:" he asserts, that "the whigs are by far the weakest party in the country."—With the peerages of lord Bath and lord Chatham in view, and the lamentable revelations in lord Melcombe's Diary, and lord Orford's Memoirs, who can blame the general indifference of the British public to many, who have appealed to them?

ter, in the words used by the Roman populace to Pompey, *nostrâ miserâ*, by our want of popularity, *tu magnus es*.

Mr. Wilkes abounded in anecdote; wit was so constantly at his command, that wagers have been gained, that, from the time he quitted his home near Story's Gate, till he reached Guildhall, no one would address him, who would leave him without a smile, or a hearty laugh. Notwithstanding their feuds, lord Sandwich and he were partial to each other. On one occasion, the Reminiscent not having been punctual to an appointment, which lord Sandwich had made for him, it was—(not good-naturedly)—mentioned to his lordship, that the delinquent had dined with Mr. Wilkes:—"Well, then," said lord Sandwich, "Wilkes has so often made me break appointments with others, that it is but fair he should once make a person break his appointment with me."

Wilkes frequently noticed the multitude of peers created during Mr. Pitt's administration, as a circumstance likely to be attended with an important consequence, not generally foreseen:—"While the relation between the minister and the new-made peers shall subsist, their subserviency," he used to say, "to his measures will continue; but, when this relation ceases, the probability is, that, as succeeding ministers will not have the means of attaching them, they will form a silent, sulky opposition,—a dead weight on every administration. Will it not then be found that the descendants of Mr. Pitt's peers will be mutes to strangle his successors?"

Mr. Wilkes had written the history of his life; and earnestly requested the Reminiscent to be his executor, under a condition of printing it entire and unaltered. With this view he indulged the Reminiscent with the

perusal of it ; he declined the charge ; it is said, that on the death of Mr. Wilkes, the cover, of the book was found without any of the leaves. The few letters of Junius, printed by Woodfall, were private communications ; the letters themselves were once in the possession of Mr. Wilkes, and probably are now in the possession of Miss Wilkes' executor.

One of the amusements of Mr. Wilkes and the Reminiscent was an attempt to discover the author of Junius' Letters. With this view, they considered them with great attention, examined many of the originals, collected and sifted all the anecdotes which they could learn, and weighed all the opinions and conjectures which they could hear of. The result is generally stated in the letter, to which the Reminiscent has alluded, and which he will now transcribe.

" Dear Sir,

" The conversations I had with Mr. Wilkes, on the subject of Junius' Letters, took place from 1776 to about 1784, during which time I lived with him in great intimacy ; he even entrusted me with the manuscript memoirs of his life. In his public or political parties I never mixed, but I lived much with him in private ; there, he appeared to the greatest advantage ; he was highly respected and loved by those who lived with him on that footing ; and I think, with great pleasure, that I was one of them.

" Far from giving the least hint that he was the author of Junius' Letters, he always explicitly disclaimed it, and treated it as a ridiculous supposition. No one acquainted with his style, can suspect, for a moment, that he was the author of them ; the merit of his style was simplicity ; he had both gaiety and strength, but to the

rancorous sarcasm, the lofty contempt, with which Junius' Letters abound, no one was a greater stranger than Mr. Wilkes. To this may be added, the very slighting manner in which Junius expresses himself of Mr. Wilkes. I am willing to admit, that if Mr. Wilkes had written Junius' Letters, he would have treated Mr. Wilkes uncivilly, for the sake of disguising himself. But sneer, and particularly that kind of sneer, which Mr. Wilkes occasionally receives from Junius, you may be assured Mr. Wilkes could never have used in speaking of himself. With respect, therefore, to his having said to your friend that, "at his ascension, the author of Junius would be known," I am confident he never used those words, or any words like them. You mention to me your having heard that Junius' Letters were printed off before they were delivered to the printer. This was not the fact; if it had been true, it would have put Mr. Wilkes' authorship wholly out of the question, as he had no convenience whatever for printing. I once procured a copy to be made for him of some very private papers, and he then greatly lamented to me his want of a private press.

"Our conversations on Junius' Letters began from a whimsical circumstance. Business having carried me to Ireland in 1776, I wrote to Mr. Wilkes from Holyhead; on my return he informed me that my letter had been stopped at the post-office, from the similarity in the hand-writing to that of Junius. This made me wish to see the original of Junius' Letters, and he produced them to me. We more than once examined them together with great attention. All of them, except the letter to the king, are, if I remember rightly, in the same hand-writing. It is like that, which well-educated ladies wrote about the beginning of the century; a large, open hand, regular, ap-

proaching to the Italian. Mr. Wilkes had a card of invitation to dinner from old lady Temple, written in her own hand; on comparing it with Junius' Letters, we thought there was some resemblance between them. The letter to the king was in a hand-writing perfectly different; a very regular, staid hand; no difference between the fair stroke and the body of the letters; when I see you, I will show you some writing very similar to it. As to my own hand-writing, it has not now the slightest resemblance to it, nor do I think it ever had any.*

"The letters, generally, if not always, were sent in an envelope, (which was then by no means so general as it now is,) and in the folding up, and the direction of the letter, we thought we could see marks of the writer's habit of folding and directing official letters. The lines were very even; very few blots, erasures, or marks of hurry. Mr. Wilkes received many letters from Junius, which never were published; one, in particular, on the subject of improving the representation of the people. Their opinions were different. I remember Junius' letter began by his saying, 'he was treated as a pagan idol, with much incense, but with no attention to his oracles.'

"We thought his high-wrought panegyric of lord Chatham was ironical.

"Mr. Wilkes scouted the notion of Mr. Burke's being the author of the letters. His suspicions fell on Dr. Butler, bishop of Hereford, but I don't recollect more

* Mr. Wilkes said, that the manner in which Junius corrected the printed sheets, showed that he was accustomed to such an employment, and had a familiar use of the marks of printers in correcting proof sheets.

than two reasons assigned by him for suspecting his lordship; one, that he had published a sermon, before Junius' Letters appeared, the style of which was very like that of the letters; another, after the letters appeared, in a style wholly unlike. These sermons, I think, I have seen, and that they did not appear to me to warrant Mr. Wilkes' observations. The other reason was, that the references in the letters to the Bible were not to the received translation, but to the Vulgate,* which, he said, the bishop always used, and which, (by the way,) Mr. Wilkes greatly admired. He described the bishop to be a saturnine, observing, profound, and silent man, such a one as, *à priori*, we should suppose Junius. But it was a mere suspicion, and we frequently amused ourselves with endeavouring to find a more likely person.

“ Arguing synthetically, we determined that Junius must be a resident in London, or its environs, from the immediate answers which he generally gave his adversaries; that he was not an author by profession,† from the visible improvement which, from time to time, was dis-

* This remark was certainly made by Mr. Wilkes; but are there any such references?

† To this opinion the Reminiscent still inclines,—in consequence of the numerous errors of grammar and construction, which may be discovered in these celebrated letters, and which would not have appeared in the works of a person of Junius' exquisite taste and discernment, if he had been accustomed to literary composition.

Both *Bolingbroke* and *Swift* poured unpremeditated lines; but, with all its beauty, the style of the former is very loose; he pleases rather by his vivid, elegant and noble conceptions, than by the language with which he clothes them.—*Swift* excels by his astonishing command of words, always common and always proper, not by their collocation or dress.—No writer has attempted to imitate it:—Is it not probable that we shall see another Junius before we see another *Swift*?

cernible in his style; that he was a man of high rank, from the tone of equality which he seemed to use quite naturally in his addresses to persons of rank, and in his expressions respecting them;* that he was not a profound lawyer, from the gross inaccuracy of some of his legal expressions:† that he had a personal animosity against the king, the duke of Bedford, and lord Mansfield, from the bitterness of his expressions respecting them; that he had lived with military men, from the propriety of his language on military subjects; and that he was a great reader of novels, from his frequent allusions to them. The general idea, that the letters were the composition of more than one person, we always rejected. The story that single-speech Hamilton informed one of his friends, that the Junius of the morning contained such and such passages, and that, till the subsequent day, no such Junius made his appearance, we thought sufficiently authenticated; and we also thought it satisfactorily accounted for, by the supposition that Woodfall had shown the letter to Mr. Hamilton on the preceding day, and

* Letters to Woodfall, No. vi. he says,—“Be assured I am far above pecuniary views.” In his miscellaneous letter, No. liv. vol. iii. p. 202, he insinuates that “his rank and fortune placed him above a common bribe.” In another letter, vol. i. p. 71, he hints, that “his name might carry some authority with it.” His private letter, No. xvii. contains this remarkable sentence, “I doubt much whether I shall ever have the pleasure of knowing you; but if things take the turn I expect, you shall know me by my works.” This may be thought to intimate an expectation that government favour would probably be, before long, at his disposal.

† In his dedication, he says, “The power of king, lords and commons is not an arbitrary power. They are the trustees, not the owners of the estate. The fee-simple is in US.”—Now in all trusts of the inheritance the fee-simple is in the trustees.

mentioned his intention of inserting it, but had been unexpectedly prevented. We also believed in the story, that while Garrick was writing a note to Mr. Ramus, or some other of the pages, Woodfall, or some one from him, came in and informed him, that Junius intended writing no more: that Garrick mentioned this circumstance in the note; and that, almost instantly after the note was sent, a thundering letter came from Junius to Garrick, abusing him for making free with his name.* It was also mentioned to us from very good authority, that lord North had declared that government had traced the portage of the letters to an obscure person in Staples-inn, but could never trace them farther.†

"This is all I can collect of the conversations which passed between Mr. Wilkes and myself on the subject in question. I have endeavoured to be accurate in my recollection of them; but you will remember it verges toward twenty years since they took place. I apprehend the original letters are in the custody of Miss Wilkes.

* "Mr. Garrick had been told, that no more of *Junius* would appear in the *Public Advertiser*. He mentioned to a nobleman about court what he had heard. Junius, who had eyes every where, was informed that Garrick had given this intelligence. He caused a letter to be sent to him at the theatre, just as he was going upon the stage, to play one of his great parts, hinting to him, that he might well be contented,

"*Plausu sui gaudere theatri,*
and not interfere in politics. The letter produced its effect, and this wonderful actor for once played ill." *Seward's Anecdotes*, vol. ii p. 422.

† This expression has been confirmed to the Reminiscent within these few weeks, by a person present when it was spoken, with the additional circumstance, that the gentleman in Staples-inn, to whom it referred, was afterward said to be the celebrated Isaac Reed, famed for his literary acquaintance among all ranks of persons.

"Edmund Burke spoke to me about Junius in terms of disgust; Mr. Gibbon appeared to me not to admire his style, as much as it was admired by the public in general: and he told me that Mr. Fox thought slightly of it.

"Some letters, under the signature of Julian, were attributed to Junius; but, to my certain knowledge, they were written by one Pillon, the author of some dramatic pieces of no great merit. Some respectable persons say that Mr. Forth, who attended lord Stormont's embassy, knows something of the author.

"The last anecdote on the subject I have heard is, that an old man, seemingly poverty-stricken, came in the Bath coach to the Devizes, or one of the next stages, and fell sick at the inn; that a very decent gentleman came to him from London; that the old man died; that he was buried in the church-yard; that over his tomb his friend caused a stone to be raised with Junius' motto, "*Stat nominis umbra*;" and that Mr. Fox, travelling that road, stopped at the inn, and desired to be directed to the stone. This story is confidentially circulated, but I certainly do not vouch for the truth of it.*

"As for Macauley Boyd's being the author of Junius' Letters, it is a perfect joke; no two characters can be more perfectly unlike than Boyd's and Junius'. Boyd was a good-natured, lively man, famous for repeating lord Chatham and Burke's speeches, and always bustling about something or another. I remember, very well, the infinite pains he took to persuade the world that the *Perreaus* were innocent. He must have been very young when Junius' Letters were written. All who knew him,

* There was some ground for it. See APPENDIX, Note 1.

must think the notion of his being the author of Junius' Letters too absurd for discussion.

"It has appeared strange, that government could not discover Junius, through the medium of the post-office. Upon this, I must observe, that I know a lady, who, for a long period of time, received by the post, anonymous letters, some of them written in blood, accusing her of the most atrocious crimes. She was nearly related to a nobleman, very high in office; by his desire, all the powers of government were exerted to discover the writer of the letters, but without success.*

"You are aware that the person now suspected of being the author of Junius' Letters is a Mr. Dyer, an intimate of the Burkes. It is said, that, on Mr. Dyer's decease, the Burkes showed infinite anxiety to get his papers into their hands; all this may be very true, but I have never heard it from good authority.

"I am, dear Sir,

"Most sincerely yours,

* * * *

"July, 1799."

In the letter, which we have transcribed, notice is taken of the tone of equality, in which Junius mentions and addresses the very highest personages of his times: how difficult it is for a person of an inferior rank to do

* Mr. Jackson, one of the shopmen of Mr. Woodfall, when the Letters of Junius appeared, mentions, in a letter inserted by him in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, for June, 1813, that "the superscription was invariably written in the same hand; but that the contents were not always so;" that "nothing could be more various than the delivery of the letters;" that "sometimes they came by the post, but, in the general way, by porters."

this, appears from Swift's letters, and the anecdotes of him, which have been transmitted to us, in which his consciousness of inferiority, notwithstanding his assumption of equality, pierces through every disguise.

To all his illustrious contemporaries, Cicero ever writes *en pair*: d'Alembert too, in the midst of all his flattery,—(through which, however, his ironical smile is often seen),—keeps the king of Prussia at a respectful distance. How much the learned man or elegant scholar lowers himself by frequenting the tables or the conversazioni of the great, may be seen in a work of d'Alembert; which should lie on the desk of every scholar.*

A farther circumstance noticed by Mr. Wilkes and the Reminiscent respecting Junius, was, his early intelligence of the measures of government. Those who recollect the controversy which took place between the count de Guignes, the French ambassador in this country, and Salvador, the Portuguese Jew, in consequence of certain stock-jobbing transactions, during the disputes between Spain and this country respecting Falkland's Island, and the manner in which the British cabinet changed on a sudden from words of war to words of peace, must be

* His "*Essay on the intercourse of Men of Letters with Persons high in rank or office.*" The same subject is treated in an agreeable and interesting manner in "*the Literary Character*" of Mr. d'Israeli, now in its third edition.

It is said that when d'Alembert was at Berlin, being wearied with the frequent reviews, to which Frederic led him, he said in a moment of pettishness,—“After all, 100 Englishmen will always be a match for 100 Prussians.”—“True;” replied the monarch, “but 100,000 Prussians will always beat 100,000 English;”—(alluding to the advantages which superior tactic confers).—“That's not so clear,” an English officer might have observed,—“50,000 English would certainly maintain their ground before twice that number of any troops in the universe.”

surprised at the early intelligence, which Junius gave of this change to Woodfall. In the Reminiscent's opinion, Junius' letter on this subject is his best performance. It closes with a simile, which several have not scrupled to pronounce the finest in any language: "Private credit is wealth;—public honour is security. The feather that adorns the royal bird, supports its flight. Strip him of his plumage, and you fix him to the earth." It is difficult to mention another, where the image, at the same time, is so exquisitely beautiful and proper, and so happily illustrates and confirms the argument:*

* The simile used by Mr. Burke to describe the rise of Mr. Charles Townshend on the decline of Mr. Pitt,—“Even then, even before this splendid orb was entirely set, and while the western horizon was in a blaze with his descending glory, on the opposite quarter of the heavens arose another luminary, and for his hour, became lord of the ascendant:”—has uncommon merit, but yields to that of Junius.

One of the finest similes, which we have received from antiquity, is that, in which Homer compares Ulysses, trying his bow, to a minstrel fitting the strings of his harp:

“Then, as some heavenly minstrel, taught to sing
High notes responsive to the trembling string,
To some new strain, when he adapts the lyre,
Or the dumb lute refits with vocal wire,
Relaxes, strains, and draws them to and fro;
So the great master drew the mighty bow,
And drew with ease.”—*Pope's Odyssey*, XXI. v. 440.

Another simile descended to us from antiquity, and particularly celebrated, is that in which Androgeos, falling unawares in the way of the Trojan hero, is compared to a peasant who has set his foot on a snake:—

“As when some peasant, in a bushy brake,
Has with unwary footing, pressed a snake,
He starts aside astonished!—when he spies
His rising crest, blue neck, and rolling eyes;
So from our arms surprised Androgeos flies.”

Dryden's Æneid, II. v. 510.

but *its* and *his* should not have been applied in the same sentence to the same thing.

This letter also contains a striking passage on the state of France in 1771,—the year in which it was written :
 “ The king of France’s present aversion from war, and
 “ the distraction of his affairs, are notorious. He is now
 “ in a state of war with his people. In vain did the catho-
 “ lic king solicit him to take part in the quarrel against
 “ us. His finances were in the last disorder, and it was
 “ probable that his troops might find sufficient employment
 “ at home.”

Since this time the authorship of these letters has

That the two last similes possess an uncommon degree of merit must be acknowledged ; yet it may be questioned, whether either can be compared to one of a poet who seldom rose above mediocrity, but who certainly struck on this occasion the noblest chords of the lyre. Mentioning the atheist, who, while they enjoy the blessings, deny the existence of the Divinity, he says,

“ Le Nil a vu sur ses rivages
 De noirs habitans des deserts
 Insulter par leurs cris sauvages
 L’astre éclatant de l’univers :
 Cris impuissans, fureurs bizarres !
 Tandis que ces monstres barbares
 Poussaient d’insolens clameurs,
 Le Dieu, poursuivant sa carrière,
 Versait des torrens de lumière,
 Sur ces obscurs blasphémateurs.”

Le Franc Pompignan.

An hypercritic would, perhaps, ask, whether it would not have been better to have left the exclamation “ *Cris impuissans, fureurs bizarres !* ” to the suggestion of the reader’s own mind,—and whether the epithet “ *obscurs* ” in the last line, as it is applied to persons upon whom the sun was pouring a torrent of light, be altogether happy ? Is it not, what the English seldom utter, but what hardly occurs in any language but their’s—the *βούς ἐπὶ γλῶττις* ?

excited much of the attention of the public. The only conjectures which deserve any consideration, are those which ascribe them to Mr. Glover, the author of *Leonidas*, to Mr. Burke, or to sir Philip Francis.

To support the pretensions of Mr. Glover, no evidence is adduced, except that something of the high whig principles of Junius is discoverable in the volume which has been published of *Glover's Memoirs*; and that Glover is known to have lived in an elevated line of society, in which these principles were professed. This evidence amounts to little, and the style of his memoirs is very unlike that of Junius.

Many contend in favour of *Mr. Burke*:—this, among his countrymen, is a general opinion, but it is accompanied by no evidence. One argument only is adduced in its support: Mr. Burke was equal to the composition of the letters of Junius, and was the only person, living at the time when they appeared, whose literary eminence was so transcendent, that he could spare the reputation of them.*

Attended by other circumstances, this might have weight; but standing singly, it has none. Between the styles of Junius and Burke, there is a great dissimilitude: it is answered, that Mr. Burke could disguise his style. But could he disguise his mind? Could he write so many letters in a mind lower than his own? Nothing can be more different from Mr. Burke's general manner, or from each other, than the ambitious style of his "*Vindication of Natural Society*," and the simple style of "*His short Defence of the late short-lived Administration*;" but a lower mind than Mr. Burke's appears in neither.

* Was this so when Junius' letters made their appearance?

Mr. Burke generalizes every thing; Junius dwells for ever on particulars: Junius frequently leaves half his meaning to be guessed; Burke displays all. Can any reason be assigned for attributing to Mr. Burke the *personal* hatred which Junius evidently had for his late majesty? for the duke of Bedford? or for lord Mansfield? Those who knew the very lofty notions which Mr. Burke entertained of himself, and his own ministerial powers and qualifications, must think it impossible, that he should have written the line, "I accept a simile from Burke, a sarcasm from Barré." Those, too, who know the labour which any literary exertion cost Mr. Burke, his endless blots, emendations and transcriptions, and ultimately his private impressions, still blotted and still amended, must be sensible how irreconcilable all this is with the fecundity and rapidity of Junius. Add to this, that on several most important points, Burke and Junius were in direct opposition to each other: Burke was a partisan of lord Rockingham; Junius, of George Grenville. On the stamp act, on triennial parliaments, they were completely at variance. Junius attached much importance to city politics; in these, Burke never appeared.

Let us hear how Mr. Burke himself speaks of Junius.

"Where,"—exclaims Mr. Burke,—“shall we look for the origin of this relaxation of the laws and all government?—How comes this Junius to have broke through the cobwebs of the law, and to range untrolled, unpunished, through the land? The myrmidons of the court have been long, and are still, pursuing him in vain. *They will not spend their time upon me, or you, or you. No! they disdain such vermin, when the mighty boar of the forest, that has broke through

"all their toils is before them. But, what will all their
 "efforts avail? No sooner has he wounded one than he
 "lays down another dead at his feet. For my part
 "when I saw his attack upon the king, I own my blood
 "ran cold. I thought he had ventured too far, and
 "there was an end of his triumphs. Not that he had
 "not asserted many truths; Yes, sir, there are in that
 "composition many bold truths, by which a wise prince
 "might profit. It was the *rancour and venom*, with which
 "I was struck. In these respects, the North-Briton is
 "as much inferior to him, as in strength, wit, and judg-
 "ment. But while I expected, in this daring flight, his
 "final ruin and fall, behold him rising still higher, and
 "coming down souse upon both houses of parliament.
 "Yes, he did make *you* his quarry, and you still bleed
 "from the wounds of his talons. You crouched, and
 "still crouch, beneath his rage. Nor has he dreaded
 "the terrors of *your* brow, sir; he has attacked even
 "you—he has—and I believe you have no reason to
 "triumph in the encounter. In short, after carrying
 "away our royal eagle in his pounces, and dashing him
 "against a rock, he has laid you prostrate. King, lords,
 "and commons are but the sport of his fury. Were he
 "a member of this house, what might not be expected
 "from his knowledge, his firmness and integrity? He
 "would be easily known by his contempt of all danger,
 "by his penetration, by his vigour. Nothing would
 "escape his vigilance and activity. Bad ministers could
 "conceal nothing from his sagacity; nor could promises
 "nor threats induce him to conceal any thing from the
 "public."

Would Mr. Burke have spoken in this manner of
 himself?

To these strong arguments, it is to be added, that, in 1784, Burke instituted a prosecution against Woodfall, the printer of Junius' Letters, for a libellous article, which had appeared against him in the *Public Advertiser*, and pursued it to a verdict, with the utmost acrimony.

Finally,—it should not be forgotten, that, as the question now stands, the task is, not to prove that Burke was not, but that he was the author of the letters.

It remains to consider the claim of *sir Philip Francis*. This has been ably brought forward in two pamphlets, intituled, "*A Discovery of the Author of the Letters of Junius, founded on such evidence and illustrations as explain all the mysterious circumstances and apparent contradictions which have contributed to the concealment of this 'most important secret of our times.'*" And, "*The identity of Junius, with a distinguished living character established; including the Supplement, consisting of fac-similes of hand-writing, and other illustrations.*"*

The external evidence, produced in these pamphlets in favour of *sir Philip Francis*, is very strong :—so strong, perhaps, that, if he had been tried upon it for a libel, and the case had rested upon the facts, from which this evidence is formed, the judge would have directed the jury to find him guilty. But the internal evidence against him, from the inequality of his acknowledged writings, is also very strong : if the able author of the article "*Junius*," in the *Edinburgh Review*,† had not professed a different opinion, the present writer would have pronounced it decisive.

That respectable writer produces several passages from the works, of which *sir Philip* was certainly the

* Printed for Taylor and Hessey, in Fleet-street,

† For November, 1817.

author, and finds in them a similar tone and equal merit. With due deference to his authority, the Reminiscent begs leave to think that, if these passages show that sir Philip was no mean writer, they also prove that he was not Junius. To bring the question to a direct issue,—are the glow and loftiness discernible in every page of Junius, once visible in any of these extracts? Where do we find in the writings of sir Philip, those thoughts that breathe, those words that burn, which Junius scatters in every page? a single drop of the *cobra capella*, which falls from Junius so often?

The advocates of the claim in favour of sir Philip, urge, as a strong circumstance in its support, that, without family, without patronage, without any one pretension to the notice of the king or the minister, he was suddenly raised from an obscure seat in the War-office, to a situation of dignity and emolument, which a nobleman would be happy to procure for his son. This, they say, shows that something was attached to sir Philip Francis, which rendered the purchase of him, at that time, even at a very high price, an object to government. Now, at the critical moment, in which sir Philip Francis was thus promoted, Junius ceased to write:—this, they conclude, makes it highly probable that the silence of Junius was purchased by the promotion of sir Philip.*

* The Reminiscent has been informed by the present Bishop of Durham, that sir Philip owed the continuance of his seat in the War-office, to the kindness of lord Barrington, the prelate's brother; and that sir Philip's appointment in India, was chiefly, if not wholly, due to his lordship's recommendation of him to lord North. After this,—if we consider how Junius wrote of lord Barrington, we cannot be surprised, that, if sir Philip were the author of Junius' Letters, he should wish it to be unknown.

But this is open to several observations.—In all his correspondence with Woodfall, Junius describes himself,—and very unaffectedly,—as a man of fortune, mixing at large with the world; and promises to indemnify him against any pecuniary loss which he might sustain in consequence of any prosecution for the letters, leaving him, however, to abide its other consequences. Nothing of this is reconcileable with the situation of sir Philip Francis at the time when these letters appeared :—It should be added, that sir Philip was then very young.

Junius had evidently been a great constitutional reader : Does sir Philip appear to have been such, from any of his writings? even the latest?

But, to bring the matter at once to issue, we shall transcribe from the article on Junius, in the *Edinburgh Review*, a passage from a publication in which sir Philip attacks lord Thurlow,—then, insert a passage in which Junius attacks lord Mansfield. We request our readers will compare them; and afterward compare the extract from Junius, with the passage on Hyder Ally's invasion of the Carnatic, transcribed from one of Mr. Burke's speeches, in a future part of this publication. Will he not find the inferiority of sir Philip so great, as to render it impossible that he should have been the

Of the venerable bishop of Durham, thus introduced, the Reminiscent begs leave to add,—that, having been professionally employed and confidentially consulted by his lordship, during half a century, he has come to the knowledge of a multitude of instances of his lordship's exemplary charity and well regulated munificence; and that 100,000*l.* would not make up the amount of those, in the foundation or arrangement of which, his lordship has professionally employed the Reminiscent; he knows, and by much better authority than mere report, many other acts of his lordship's liberality.

author of Junius' Letters? On the other hand, will he not find the difference, we do not say in the styles, but in the minds of Junius and Burke, to be such, as to render it quite evident that Burke and Junius were not the same person?

Sir Philip Francis' Character of Lord Thurlow.

"It is well known that a gross and public insult had been offered to the memory of General Clavering and Colonel Monson, by a person of high rank in this country. He was happy when he heard that his name was included in it with theirs. So highly did he respect the character of those men, that he deemed it an honour to share in the injustice it had suffered. It was in compliance with the forms of the house, and not to shelter himself, or out of tenderness to the party, that he forebore to name him. He meant to describe him so exactly, that he could not be mistaken. He declared in his place, in a great assembly, and in the course of a grave deliberation, 'that it would have been happy for this country, if General Clavering, Colonel Monson and Mr. Francis, had been drowned in their passage to India.' If this poor and spiteful invective had been uttered by a man of no consequence or repute, by any light, trifling, inconsiderate person, by a lord of the bed-chamber, for example, or any of the other silken barons of modern days, he should have heard it with indifference. But when it was seriously urged and deliberately insisted on by a grave lord of parliament—by a judge—by a man of ability and eminence in his profession, whose personal disposition was serious, who carried gravity to sternness, and sternness to ferocity, it could not be received with indifference, or answered without resentment. Such a man would be thought to have inquired before he pronounced. From his mouth, a reproach was a sentence, an invective was a judgment. The accidents of life, and not any original distinction that he knew of, had placed him too high, and himself at too great a distance from him, to admit of any other answer than a public defiance, for General Clavering, for Colonel Monson, and for himself. This was not a party question, nor should it be left to so feeble an advocate as he was, to support it. The friends and fellow-soldiers of General Clavering and Colonel Monson would assist him in defending their memory. He demanded and expected the support of every man of honour in

that house, and in the kingdom. What character was safe, if slander was permitted to attack the reputation of two of the most honourable and virtuous men that ever were employed, or ever perished in the service of their country? He knew that the authority of this man was not without weight; but he had an infinitely higher authority to oppose it. He had the happiness of hearing the merits of General Clavering and Colonel Monson acknowledged and applauded in terms to which he was not at liberty to do more than to allude: they were rapid and expressive. He must not venture to repeat, lest he should do them injustice, or violate the forms of respect, where essentially he owed and felt the most. But he was sufficiently understood. The generous sensations that animate the royal mind, were easily distinguished from those which rankled in the heart of that person who was supposed to be the keeper of the royal conscience."

Extract from the Letter of Junius to Lord Mansfield.

"You will not question my veracity, when I assure you that it has not been owing to any particular respect for your person that I have abstained from you so long. Beside the distress and danger with which the press is threatened, when your lordship is party, and the party is to be judge, I confess I have been deterred by the difficulty of the task. Our language has no term of reproach, the mind has no idea of detestation, which has not already been happily applied to you and exhausted. Ample justice has been done by abler pens than mine to the separate merits of your life and character. Let it be my humble office to collect the scattered sweets, till their united virtue tortures the sense.

"Permit me to begin with paying a just tribute to Scotch sincerity, wherever I find it. I own I am not apt to confide in the professions of gentlemen of that country, and when they smile, I feel an involuntary emotion to guard myself against mischief. With this general opinion of an ancient nation, I always thought it much to your lordship's honour, that, in your earlier days, you were but little infected with the prudence of your country. You had some original attachments, which you took every proper opportunity to acknowledge. The liberal spirit of youth prevailed over your native discretion. Your zeal in the cause of an unhappy prince was expressed with the sincerity of wine, and some of the solemnities of religion. This I conceive is the most amiable point of view in which your charac-

ter has appeared. Like an honest man, you took that part in politics, which might have been expected from your birth, education, country, and connexions. There was something generous in your attachment to the banished house of Stuart. We lament the mistakes of a good man, and do not begin to detest him until he affects to renounce his principles. Why did you not adhere to that loyalty you once professed? Why did you not follow the example of your worthy brother? With him you might have shared in the honour of the Pretender's confidence—with him you might have preserved the integrity of your character, and England, I think, might have spared you without regret. Your friends will say, perhaps, that although you deserted the fortune of your liege lord, you have adhered firmly to the principles which drove his father from the throne!—that without openly supporting the person, you have done essential service to the cause, and consoled yourself for the loss of a favourite family, by reviving and establishing the maxims of their government. This is the way in which a Scotchman's understanding corrects the errors of his heart. My lord, I acknowledge the truth of the defence, and can trace it through all your conduct. I see through your whole life, one uniform plan to enlarge the power of the crown, at the expense of the liberty of the subject. To this object, your thoughts, words, and actions, have been constantly directed. In contempt or ignorance of the common law of England, you have made it your study to introduce into the court, where you preside, maxims of jurisprudence unknown to Englishmen. The Roman code, the law of nations, and the opinion of foreign civilians, are your perpetual theme;—but who ever heard you mention magna charta, or the bill of rights, with approbation or respect? By such treacherous arts, the noble simplicity and the spirit of our laws were first corrupted. The Norman conquest was not complete until Norman lawyers had introduced their laws, and reduced slavery to a system. This one leading principle directs your interpretation of the laws, and accounts for your treatment of juries. It is not in political questions only, (for there the courtier might be forgotten), but let the cause be what it may, your understanding is equally on the rack, either to contract the power of the jury, or to mislead their judgment. For the truth of this assertion, I appeal to the doctrine you delivered in lord Grosvenor's cause. An action for criminal conversation being brought by a peer against a prince of the blood, you were daring enough to tell the jury that, in

fixing the damages, they were to pay no regard to the quality or fortune of the parties;—that it was a trial between *A* and *B*;—that they were to consider the offence in a moral light only, and give no greater damages to a peer of the realm than to the meanest mechanic. I shall not attempt to refute a doctrine, which, if it was meant for law, carries falsehood and absurdity upon the face of it; but if it was meant for a declaration of your political creed, is clear and consistent. Under an arbitrary government, all ranks and distinctions are confounded. The honour of a nobleman is no more considered than the reputation of a peasant, for with different liveries they are equally slaves.

“Even in matters of private property, we see the same bias and inclination to depart from the decisions of your predecessors, which you certainly ought to receive as evidence of the common law. Instead of those certain, positive rules, by which the judgment of a court of law should be invariably determined, you have fondly introduced your own unsettled notions of equity and substantial justice. Decisions given upon such principles do not alarm the public so much as they ought, because the consequence and tendency of each particular instance, is not observed or regarded. In the mean time the practice gains ground; the court of king’s bench becomes a court of equity, and the judge, instead of consulting strictly the law of the land, refers only to the wisdom of the court, and to the purity of his own conscience. The name of Mr. Justice Yates will naturally revive in your mind some of those emotions of fear and detestation, with which you always beheld him. That great lawyer, that honest man, saw your whole conduct in the light that I do. After years of ineffectual resistance to the pernicious principles introduced by your lordship, and uniformly supported by your humble friends upon the bench, he determined to quit a court whose proceedings and decisions he could neither assent to with honour nor oppose with success.”

Such, in our opinion, is the state of the question: all external evidence is in favour of sir Philip, all internal evidence is against him. Thus the argument on each side neutralizes the argument on the other, and the pretension of sir Philip vanishes.

A third hypothesis is therefore necessary: the conclusion, to which it should lead, ought to be such as is consist-

ent with the evidence on each side, and restores to each its individual activity.

Now this is done,—and perhaps can only be done—by supposing that sir Philip was not Junius, but the amanuensis of Junius; that the real Junius was too high to be bought; so that, when he made his terms with government, he was contented to remain in a proud obscurity,—but stipulated a boon for his scribe, and was of consequence enough to insist that the boon should be liberal. Now several passages in Junius' Letters seem to show that he employed an amanuensis. In a note to Woodfall,* he says, "You shall have the letter some time to-morrow. It cannot be corrected and copied sooner." In another,† he says, "The enclosed, though begun with- in these few days, has been greatly laboured. It is very correctly copied." In another, he mentions, "the gentleman who transacts the conveyancing part of their correspondence," and who told him "there was much difficulty last night."‡ That gentleman, therefore, must have known, that a mysterious something attended those letters. Mr. Jackson's testimony, as reported by Woodfall, is, that "this gentleman wore a bag and sword."§ If the recollection of the writer, that Junius' letter to the king is in a hand-writing different from the hand-writing of the other letters, be accurate, the evidence for an amanuensis is certainly very strong.

If the copies to which Junius refers, were made, not by himself, but, which is certainly most probable, by some other person, it follows, incontrovertibly, that sir Philip Francis and Junius were different persons.

* Letters of Junius; by H. S. Woodfall, in 3 vols. 1821, vol. i. n. 9. p. 210.

† Ibid. n. 24, p. 214.

‡ Ibid. n. 51, p. 246.

§ Letters of Junius, vol. i. n. 2. p. 43.

We do not, however, say, that sir Philip was a mere copyist:—he may occasionally have conveyed useful information, and suggested useful hints to his principal ; so that, to a certain extent, he might, without impropriety, be said to have been his collaborator.

To this hypothesis, the Reminiscent begs leave to say that he inclines : it includes all the data required by him for the author of Junius ; it equally admits the arguments in favour of sir Philip Francis from external, and the arguments against him from internal evidence, and reconciles and gives activity to each.

Junius, in his dedication prefixed to his own edition of his letters, declares, that “ he was the sole depositary of “ his own secret.” This seems not to be easily reconcilable with what he says in one of his letters to Woodfall,—“ The truth is, that there are people about me, “ whom I would wish not to contradict, and who had rather see Junius in the papers ever so improperly than “ not at all.”* This sounds like the language of a partisan, who felt both his talents and his chains ; and it may be thought a confirmation, though slight, of the Reminiscent’s hypothesis.

All we know with certainty of Junius, is to be collected from one of his private letters to Woodfall:† “ That “ Swinney is a wretched, dangerous fool : he had the impudence to go to lord Sackville, whom he had never before spoken to, and to ask him whether or no he was the “ author of Junius.”

These few words disclose several facts ;—that Junius knew Swinney,—knew his character,—knew that Swinney had called on lord George Sackville,—knew that Swinney had never called on him before,—and knew of

* Private Letters, n. 6. † Vol. i. p. 174.

the interview very soon after it took place. From this it may be argued that Junius was intimate with lord George Sackville : it has even been inferred that he was lord George Sackville himself.

The Reminiscent well remembers that his lordship was the person to whom the letters were first attributed, and that his lordship had the reputation of possessing literary talents and habits. It is known that sir William Draper at first divided his suspicions of the authorship of Junius between Burke and lord George ; and on Burke's unequivocal denial of it, transferred them to his lordship.

There certainly was an event in his lordship's life, which would sour him against mankind, and fill his soul with bitter hatred against the king, in whose reign it happened, and his immediate successor on the throne ; against lord Mansfield, their secret and confidential adviser in all state prosecutions ; and against the duke of Grafton, the brother of lord Southampton, a strong witness against lord George, in the court-martial which was held upon him. Something or other might easily have occurred, which would have extended this hatred to the duke of Bedford.

The event, to which we have referred, would render concealment necessary ; and after lord George had taken an office in lord North's administration, and accepted a peerage from the king, it must, if he had any feelings of honour, have made him desire that his authorship of the Letters of Junius, if he were the author of them, should be buried in eternal oblivion.

Junius, in many parts of his letters, seems to intimate his having a personal knowledge of the late king. " I know that man better than you," he says of the king.

in one of his letters to Mr. Horne. To this personal knowledge of the king, the high birth of lord George, and the habits of his family about the court, entitled him : but this personal knowledge of the king cannot be claimed for any other person to whom the Letters of Junius have been ascribed. The rank and character of lord George Sackville account also for his knowledge of some very obscure transactions of government, and some private events in the duke of Bedford's family. It may be added, that Junius ceased to write in May, 1772 ;—that, soon afterward, lord George made his second appearance in the public world in the debates on East India affairs, and that in 1775, he was appointed one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state. Allowing for the time which it must necessarily take to bring into public office a man so apparently undone in public opinion, it is not contrary to probability, that the *pourparler* for his restoration to favour began about the time at which Junius ceased to write.

To all arguments, which may be suggested in favour of lord George, the author of the ingenious essay, prefixed to Woodfall's edition of the Letters of Junius, objects an expression in a political squib attributed to Junius, in which he alludes to the supposed tergiversation of lord George at the battle of Minden. This may be thought a strong, but it evidently is not a decisive argument, particularly if we suppose, what certainly is not impossible, that lord George had, upon this subject, all the pride of conscious innocence. It must also be observed, that it is by conjecture only that the *jeu d'esprit*, in which this expression is found, is imputed to Junius.

To the Reminiscent it appears more difficult to reconcile lord George's authorship of Junius with that writer's

advances to Mr. Wilkes, or his intromission of himself into city politics, or the importance which he appears to have attached to them. The high aristocracy of the whigs was, at that time,[†] just beginning to thaw ; but the Reminiscent recollects that lord George was considered to be eminently aristocratic : it is difficult to think he would have run, as Junius did, into the city, or considered it to be of the importance which Junius thought it, that one man or another should be the lord Mayor.

Junius expresses himself differently at different times of lord Chatham. To a friend of the Reminiscent lord George observed, that " the unpleasant part of his own " life was mixed up with the most glorious part of lord " Chatham's, but did not prevent him from doing justice " to the services which that great man had done his coun- " try." It is also observable, that there is nothing in the speech which lord George Sackville made in his defence before the court-martial by whom he was tried, that has the slightest appearance of the style of Junius ; the same observation on the difference between the letters, and his lordship's general style of oratory, was made during the debates which followed his lordship's coming into office, by the Reminiscent and by several with whom he then associated.—The Annual Register for 1759 and 1760, contains some letters from his lordship :—in these, nothing of the mind or style of Junius is discoverable. Can it be supposed that lord George Sackville could have informed Woodfall, that, " his *Veri-* " *dicus* was Mr. Whitworth,* his *Lycurgus* a Mr. Kent, " a young man of good parts upon the town."[†] In fact, one of the greatest difficulties in fixing upon any one per-

* Private Letters, n. 6. † Ibid. n. 5.

son the character of Junius, is to find one, who, like him, was at once well acquainted with the circle of the court, with city conflicts, with the public offices of government, and with the characters and habits, both of the leaders of the parties, and their runners.

Supposing the evidence in favour of lord George Sackville to rest entirely on the circumstances which have been mentioned, it must be pronounced to be defective. On this supposition, however, it might have been observed that the evidence in his favour was stronger than the evidence in favour of any other person. Mr. Fox used to say, that "though he would not take single-speech Hamilton against the field, he would bet him against any single horse." On the supposition which we have just stated, might not the same bet, with a greater chance of success, have been laid upon lord George?

There is, however, one circumstance against lord George, which it is difficult to reconcile with his being Junius:—Having written as Junius had done, would lord North have recommended him to the king? Could the king have accepted Junius for his minister?*

Mentioning in one of his letters to Woodfall, the edition which that gentleman then projected of his letters, Junius says, "*When the book is finished, let me have a set bound in vellum, gilt and lettered as handsome as you can—the edges gilt—let the sheets be well dried before binding.*"

Who is the fortunate possessor of these two vellum

* The reader will find in the Appendix, Note I. an extract from a northern magazine, which contains a wonderful tale respecting Junius: and, to use the words of a song once popular. "those, who will believe it, may."

volumes ?—The Reminiscent knows as little as the rest of the world,—but thinks it was not unknown to the founder of a noble house, to which the public owes an edition of Homer, which does the nation honour.

Of him, Junius thus expresses himself:—"It is impossible to conceal from ourselves, that we are, at this moment, on the brink of a dreadful precipice; the question is, whether we shall submit to be guided by the hand that hath driven us to it,"—(General Conway,)—"or whether we shall follow the patriot voice,"—(George Grenville's,)—"which would still declare the way to safety and to honour."*

Mr. Charles Lloyd, a clerk of the treasury, and afterward a deputy teller of the exchequer, was, for some time, private secretary to Mr. George Grenville, and always possessed his confidence. He was strongly suspected by many of being the author of the Letters; and several respectable persons, among whom we may mention Dr. Parr, ascribe them to him. One strong argument in his favour is, that, when Lloyd died, Junius ceased to write. Junius' last letter is dated on the 19th of January; Lloyd died on the 23d.

His advocates have, however, to encounter the explicit declaration of Junius: "I have not the honour of being personally known to Mr. Grenville."†

* Is not this passage perfectly decisive against Mr. Burke's authorship?

† Letter 18.

VIII.

COMPLETION OF MR. HARGRAVE'S EDITION OF COKE ON
LITTLETON—CHARACTER OF LITTLETON AND COKE.

THE next literary exertion of the Reminiscent was of a professional nature,—*the continuation and completion of Mr. Hargrave's edition of Coke upon Littleton.*

The merit of *Littleton's Tenures* is great ; neither England nor the continent can produce any contemporaneous work on the subject of law, of equal or even approximating merit : but a general want of definition, and some want of order, may be reasonably objected to it ; and it is not wholly free from error.

The *Commentary of sir Edward Coke* is an extraordinary work ; the language of it is every where most clear ; but the doctrines and illustrations are often so subtle and abstruse, as to require the utmost stretch, even of the strongest understanding, to comprehend them. A profound algebraist once mentioned to the writer, that he had never found in that science, a problem, the solution of which required greater mental exertion, than passages occurring in almost every page of this celebrated commentary.

Both lord Mansfield and lord Thurlow expressed the highest opinion of Littleton, and a very different opinion of Coke.

It is objected to his commentary, that it is defective in method : but it should be observed, that a want of method was, in some respects, inseparable from the nature of the undertaking. During a long life of intense and unremitted application to the study of the laws of England, sir Edward Coke had treasured up an immensity of the most valuable learning on the common and statute law of

this country. This, he wished to present to the public, and chose that mode of doing it, in which, without being obliged to dwell on those doctrines, which other authors could explain equally well, he might produce that extensive and profound learning, which he felt himself to possess above all others.

It must be allowed that the style of sir Edward Coke is strongly tinged with the quaintness of the times in which he wrote ; but it is accurate, expressive, and clear. That it is sometimes difficult to comprehend his meaning, is generally owing to the abstruseness of his subject, not to the obscurity of his language.

It has been objected to him, that the authorities, which he cites, do not, in many places, come up to the doctrines which they are brought to support. There appears to be some ground for this observation : yet, it should not be forgotten, that the uncommon depth of his learning, and acuteness of his mind, might enable him to discover connexions and consequences which escape a common observer.

Lord Bacon objected to sir Edward Coke, that, in his writings, he did not sufficiently distinguish between decided points of law, and his own legal conclusions. For this observation also, there is ground ; but the character of sir Edward Coke is now so high as to give to his opinions the weight and authority of judicial decision.

It is sometimes said that the perusal of his commentary is, at this time, useless, as many of the doctrines of law, which his writings explain, are become obsolete ; and that every thing useful in them may be found more systematically and agreeably arranged in modern writers.—It must be acknowledged, that, when he treats of those parts of the law, which have been altered since his time, his com-

mentary partakes, in a certain degree, of the obsolescence of the subjects to which it is applied; but, even where this is the case, it generally happens that the doctrines laid down by him serve to illustrate other parts of the law which are still in force. It may also be observed, that, notwithstanding the general tenor of the present business of our courts, cases frequently occur, which depend upon the most abstruse and intricate parts of the ancient law. Thus, the case of *Jacob v. Wheate* led to the discussion of escheats and the nature of uses, as they stood before the statute of Henry the eighth; the case of *Taylor v. Horde*, and the still later case of *Cholmondeley v. Clinton*, turned on the learning of disseisins.

But the most advantageous, and perhaps the most proper point of view, in which the merit and ability of sir Edward Coke's writings can be placed, is by considering him as the centre of modern and ancient law.

The English, like the Roman law, has its *jus antiquum*, *jus novum*, and *jus novissimum*. The *jus novum* may be supposed to have taken its rise at the end of the reign of king Henry the seventh, and to have assumed something of a regular form towards the latter end of the reign of king Charles the second,—the period, which may be assigned for the commencement of the *jus novissimum*.

The principle features of the *jus novum* are, the introduction of recoveries,—conveyances to uses,—the testamentary disposition by wills,—the abolition of military tenures,—the statute of frauds and perjuries,—the establishment of a regular system of equitable jurisdiction,—the discontinuance of real actions, and the mode of trying titles to landed property by ejectment. There is no doubt that these produced a material alteration in the jurisprudence of this country, and form the basis of mo-

dern law : but they operated not so much by superseding, as by giving a new direction to the principles of the ancient law, and applying them to new subjects. Hence, a knowledge of ancient legal learning is absolutely necessary to a modern lawyer. Now, sir Edward Coke's commentary upon Littleton is an immense repository of every thing that is most interesting or useful in the legal learning of ancient times. Were it not for his writings, we should still have to search for it in the voluminous and chaotic compilation of cases contained in the Year Books ; or in the dry, though valuable, abridgments of Statham, Fitzherbert, Brooke, and Rolle. Every person, who has attempted, must be sensible how very difficult and disgusting it is to pursue a regular investigation of any point of law through these works : the writings of sir Edward Coke have considerably abridged, if not entirely taken away, the necessity of this arduous labour.

But his writings are not only a repository of ancient learning ; they also contain the outlines of the principal doctrines of modern law and equity. On the one hand, he delineates and explains the ancient system of law, as it stood at the accession of the house of Tudor ; on the other, he points out the leading innovations, which then began to take place. He shows the different restraints which our ancestors imposed on the alienation of landed property, the methods by which they were eluded, and the various modifications which property received after its free alienation was allowed. He shows how the notorious and public transfer of property by actual or symbolic delivery of possession was superseded by the secret and refined mode of transferring it, introduced in consequence of the statute of uses. We may trace in his

works the beginning of the disuse of real actions ; the tendency in the nation to convert the military into socage tenures ; and the outlines of almost every other point of modern jurisprudence. Thus, his writings stand between and connect the ancient and modern parts of the law, and, by showing their mutual relations and dependencies, discover the many ways by which they explain, illustrate, and resolve themselves into one another.

Of the foreign writers on law, whose works have fallen under the eye of the Reminiscent, those who have appeared to him to resemble *lord Coke* most, and to approach nearest to him in depth of learning and profound thought, are *Du Moulin* and *lord Stair* ; the latter has the additional merit of arrangement. It is not generally known that the late sir William Pulteney was the editor of "*lord Stair's Institutions*."*

It is very remarkable that some English gentlemen, nowise connected with the profession of the law, beguiled their tedious exile at Verdun, by a serious perusal of *Coke* upon *Littleton*, and have often spoke of the great mental delight which it afforded them.

After employing eleven years in editing half of the work of which we are now speaking, *Mr. Hargrave*, its first editor, abandoned it. His annotations exhibit the most profound and extensive learning, and the finest discrimination. In the law of property, and many other

* It should be known, that the author of the *Essay on Contingent Remainders* being understood to want money, sir William sent him 100*l.* ; lord Thurlow and lord Loughborough did each of them the same, and all did it in the handsomest manner. The munificence of lord Rosslyn to M. de Barrentin, the chancellor of France, during the French emigration, is mentioned in the writer's *Historical Memoirs of the English, Irish, and Scottish Catholics*.

branches of English jurisprudence, he was eminently learned: in the law of dignities, the prerogative of the crown, and the history and principles of the constitution, he scarcely had an equal. His rare acquirements were more than once displayed by him in a manner highly honourable to himself and serviceable to his country. When he retired from the practice of the profession, parliament purchased for the nation his library, upon terms which showed the public sense of his merit.—It is much to be lamented that he did not carry into execution his favourite object—a complete edition of the printed and manuscript works of *sir Matthew Hale*; an eternal monument of the profound knowledge possessed by that great man of the laws and constitution of this kingdom. They are distinguished by deep and extensive learning, patient investigation, method and perspicuity: his language is always guarded, and he carefully avoids drawing any conclusion which his premises do not fully warrant. He deserved such an editor as Mr. Hargrave.

On that gentleman's resigning the work, it was committed to the editor, but with a request, amounting almost to a condition, that it should be completed within the four ensuing terms. To a perfect execution of it, an explanation or illustration of every sentence, where these are wanted,—(and sentences of this nature are very numerous,)—would have been necessary. Such a system of minute annotation was incompatible with the shortness of the period allowed to the editor for the execution of his task;—nor had it been pursued by Mr. Hargrave. The second editor, therefore, adopted that gentleman's plan of extended annotation:—his labours have been most favourably received; but he has never

disguised to himself, that this was much less owing to the merit of his annotations, than to the value and importance of the work to which they were appended. One farther edition of it, more complete than the former, he yet hopes to give.

IX.

HORE JURIDICE SUBSECIVE.

THE Reminiscent now proceeds to mention his other professional publications :

The first was, "HORE JURIDICE SUBSECIVE, being a connected Series of Notes respecting the Geography, Chronology, and Literary History of the principal Codes and original Documents of the Grecian, Roman, Feudal, and Canon Law."

The first literary work, which the writer sat down seriously to compose, was a *History of the Feudal Law* :—a succinct outline of it, completed by him before the year 1772, is now in his possession : it was the groundwork of the long annotation on feuds, inserted by him in his continuation of Mr. Hargrave's edition of Coke upon Littleton ; and a large portion of it forms an article in the work of which he is now speaking. For all the other subjects, he must acknowledge that he was slenderly qualified.

His acquaintance with the civil law was limited to an attentive perusal of the *Institutes*, both in the original, and in *Dr. Harris' excellent translation* ; and the perusal of such articles in the *Digest* as relate to the acquisition and transmission of property. He had read some articles in *Cujas, Voet, Huber, and Domat*, with the great-

est satisfaction. Few works have given him more pleasure than the "*Antiquitatum Romanarum Syntagma*," of Heineccius, the same author's "*Historia Juris Romani et Germanici*," the "*Historia Juris Romani*," of Brunquellus, and the "*Orbis Romanus*," of Spanheim. From the first of these works, the elegant and philosophical view of the Roman law presented by Mr. Gibbon to the readers of his history, is principally extracted.

It has often occurred to the writer, that persons designed for parliament or the bar could not employ the interval between studies merely classical and studies practically useful, better, than in the perusal of the *Institutes*, and the *Syntagma* of Heineccius, as a commentary upon them.

The whole of the *Liber Feudorum*, with the commentary of Cujas,—and of Du Moulin's *Traité des Fiefs*; some of the *Plaidoyers* of the chancellor d'Aguesseau, and some, but very small portions of different works of Pothier, he had perused. His reading on public law had been confined to a portion, very small, of *Vattel*.

Some circumstances have required him to consult frequently and largely the *Jus Ecclesiasticum* of Van Espen; the only work, perhaps, which the continent has produced, that can be compared with Mr. Justice Blackstone's commentaries. It presents the same pleasing mixture of historical, philosophical, and practical jurisprudence; it is written with equal perspicuity and method; and, perhaps, with greater practical knowledge of forensic instruments and proceedings.

It is observable that the civilians of antiquity branched into two sects: one, contended for a strict adherence to the letter and forms of the law; the other, recommended a benign interpretation of its text, and great latitude in

the observance of its forms. For the names of their respective leaders, those were called *Proculeians*, these, *Sabinians* or *Cassians*. Something like this difference has long subsisted at the English bar ; but the good sense of English lawyers has prevented them from forming themselves into sects. About the year 1770, a bill was brought into the house of commons for allowing defendants, in almost all cases, to plead the general issue, and give the special matter in evidence ; the measure failed : its effect would have been to confine special pleading within very narrow limits : it is not a little remarkable that it was favoured by Mr. Wallace, who was a mere special pleader, and opposed by Mr. Dunning, who, like the Reminiscent's friend, Mr. Tidd, was both a special pleader, and much more.

X.

EDITION OF MR. FEARNE'S ESSAY ON CONTINGENT REMAINDERS.

LONG after this time, the Reminiscent again appeared before the public in the humble character of a legal editor.

A new edition of *Mr. Fearn's Essay on Contingent Remainders*, one of the most profound and useful works that have issued from the legal presses of this country, being called for, it was entrusted to him.

Mr. Fearn was a general scholar ; he was profoundly versed in mathematics, chemistry, and mechanics. He had obtained a patent for dying scarlet, and had solicited one for a preparation of porcelain. A friend of the Reminiscent having communicated to an eminent gun-

smith a project of a musket, of greater power and much less size than that in ordinary use, the gunsmith pointed out to him its defects, and observed, that "a Mr. Fearné, an obscure law-man, in Breame's buildings, Chancery-lane, had invented a musket, which, although defective, was much nearer to the attainment of the object."

Mr. Fearné had composed a treatise in the Greek language, on the *Greek accents*: another, on the *Retreat of the Ten Thousand*. He mentioned to the Reminiscent, that, when he resolved to dedicate himself to the study of the law, he burned his profane library, and wept over its flames: and that the works which he most regretted, were the *Homilies of St. John Chrysostom to the people of Antioch*, and the *Comedies of Aristophanes*.

Of the transcendent merit of the *Essay on Contingent Remainders*, there is but one opinion: the Reminiscent's edition of it appears to have been favourably received: he cannot flatter himself that it has added to the intrinsic value of the work, unless it has been by pointing out its beautiful method and analytical arrangement, which, except by persons familiar both with the subject and the work, were, from the mode of its publication, seldom observed.

XI.

FORENSIC ELOQUENCE.

LORD MANSFIELD—LORD HARDWICKE—LORD CAMDEN—
LORD THURLOW—LORD ROSSLYN—SIR WILLIAM GRANT
—LORD ELDON—LORD KENYON.

ANOTHER legal publication of the Reminiscent, if it deserve that appellation, is a short *Essay on the cha-*

racter of *lord Mansfield*, composed by him at the request of the late Mr. Seward, and inserted by that gentleman in his *Anecdotes*. An insertion of part of it in this place, and an account of the *forensic eloquence* of some other distinguished personages of our times, may not be unacceptable to the readers of these pages.

XI. 1.

Lord Mansfield.

LORD MANSFIELD was sent, at the usual age, to the university of Oxford. He applied to the study of the classics, and afterward to the study of law, with great diligence. He mentioned to an uncle of the Reminiscent, that he had translated many of Cicero's Orations into English, and then translated them back into Latin. He also said, that, while he was a student in the Temple, he and some other students had regular meetings to discuss legal questions; and they prepared their arguments with great care; and that he afterward found many of these useful to him, not only at the bar, but upon the bench.

For some time after his call to the bar, he was without any practice. A letter from Mr. Pope refers to one received from him, in which he had mentioned this circumstance with good humour. A speech, which he made as counsel at the bar of the house of lords, first brought him into notice. Upon this, business poured in upon him from all sides; and he himself was heard to say, that he never knew the difference between a total want of employment and a gain of 3,000*l.* a year.

To this speech Mr. Pope alludes in the following lines:

"Graced as thou art, with all the power of words,
So known, so honoured, at the house of lords."

The second of these lines has been considered a great falling off from the first. They were thus parodied by Colly Cibber :

"Persuasion tips his tongue whene'er he talks,
And he has chambers in the King's Bench Walks."^{*}

To the chambers in the King's Bench Walks, Mr. Pope has an allusion in one of the least read, but not least beautiful, of his compositions,—his imitation of the first ode of the fourth book of Horace :

"To *Number five* direct your doves,
There spread round *Murray* all your blooming loves :
Noble and young, who strikes the heart
With every sprightly, every decent part :
Equal, the injur'd to defend,
To charm the mistress, or to fix the friend.
He, with an hundred arts refin'd,
Shall spread thy conquests over half the kind ;
To him, each rival shall submit,
Make but his riches equal to his wit."

The two last verses allude to an unsuccessful address made by his lordship, in the early part of his life, to a lady of great wealth. Mr. Pope adverts to it in the following lines :

* Few will defend "the house of lords," thus arraigned by Cibber :—but,—in the verse,

Romanos rerum dominos, gentemque togatam,
is the last hemistich,—

And,—in the verses,

*En hujus, nate, auspiciis illa inchuta Roma
Imperium terris, animos æquabit Olympo,
Septemque una sibi muro circumdabit arces :*

is the third,—more defensible ?

" Shall one, whom nature, learning, birth, conspir'd
 To form, not to admire, but be admir'd,
 Sigh, while his Chloe, blind to wit and worth,
 Weds the rich dulness of some son of earth?"

His lordship learned much of special pleading from Mr. Justice Dennison, and much of the law of property from Mr. Booth. He confined his practice to the court of chancery. His command of words, and the gracefulness of his action, formed a striking contrast with the manner of speaking of some of his rivals, who were equally distinguished by the extent and depth of their legal knowledge, and their unpleasant enunciation.

After he had filled, with great applause, the offices of solicitor and attorney-general, he was created chief justice of the king's bench, in May, 1756, on the decease of sir Dudley Ryder. He held that high situation during two and thirty years.

On every occasion, he was equally attentive to the bar and the suitors of the court. In all he said or did, there was a happy mixture of good-nature, good-humour, elegance, ease, and dignity. His countenance was indescribably beautiful; none could behold it without reverence and regard. An engraving, by Bartolozzi, of a portrait of his lordship by sir Joshua Reynolds, presents a strong resemblance of him in a very advanced age. Nature had given him an eye of fire; its last lingering gleam is exquisitely exhibited in the engraving. His voice, till it was affected by the years which passed over him, was, perhaps, unrivalled in its sweetness and the mellifluous variety of its tones. There was a similitude between his action and Mr. Garrick's; and, in the latter part of his life, his voice discovered something of that gutturalness, by which Mr. Garrick's was distinguished,

He spoke slowly, sounding distinctly every letter of every word. In some instances he had a great peculiarity of pronunciation—"authority" and "attachment," two words of frequent use in the law, he always pronounced *awlaw-ri-ty* and *attaichment*. His expressions were sometimes low; he did not always observe the rules of grammar; there was great confusion in his periods, very often beginning without ending them, and involving his sentences in endless parentheses; yet, such was the charm of his voice and action, and such the general beauty, propriety, and force of his expressions, that while he spoke, all these defects passed unnoticed. No one ever remarked them, who did not obstinately confine his attention and observation to them.

Among his contemporaries, he had some superiors in force, some equals in persuasion; but in insinuation, he was without a rival or a second. This was particularly distinguishable in his speeches from the bench. He excelled in the statement of a case; Mr. Burke said of it, "that it was, of itself, worth the argument of any other man." He divested it of all unnecessary circumstances; brought together all that were of importance; placed them in so striking a point of view, and connected them by observations so powerful, but which appeared to arise so naturally from the facts themselves, that frequently the hearer was convinced before his lordship began to argue. When his lordship argued, he showed equal ability, but it was a mode of argumentation almost peculiar to himself. His statement of the case carried the hearers to the very train of thought into which he wished them to fall, when they should attend to his reasonings. Through these he accompanied them, leading them insensibly to every observation favourable to the conclusion,

which he wished them to draw, and diverting every objection to it ; but, all the time, keeping himself concealed ; so that the hearers thought they formed their conclusions in consequence of the powers and workings of their own minds, when, in fact, they were the effect of the most subtle argumentation and the most refined dialectic.

V In a conversation, which he permitted a student to have with him, he expressed himself in terms of great esteem for Littleton ; but spoke of lord Coke, particularly of " his attempting to give reasons for every thing," (this was his phrase,) with disrespect. He mentioned lord Hardwicke in terms of admiration and of the warmest friendship : " When his lordship pronounced his decrees, wisdom herself," he said, " might be supposed to speak." It is somewhat remarkable, that both Mr. Burke and Mr. Wilkes described lord Hardwicke's oratory in these very words.

In the same conversation, lord Mansfield observed with great satisfaction, that during the long period of his chief-justiceship, there had been but one case, in which he had ultimately differed with any of his brethren in the same court. This was the case of Perryn against Blake. He lamented the difference, but declared his conviction, that the opinion, which he delivered upon it, was right. He used also to mention, with great complacency, that during the time in which he had been attorney or solicitor-general, the crown failed only in one prosecution : it was a favourite maxim with him, that a court prosecution should never be instituted, without certainty of success.

He recommended *Saunders's Reports*. He observed, that the quantity of professional reading absolutely necessary, or even really useful, to a lawyer, was not so great as was usually imagined ; but, he observed, " that

“it was essential he should read much,” as he termed it, “in his own defence; lest, by appearing ignorant on subjects, which did not relate to his particular branch of the profession, his ignorance of that particular branch might be inferred.”

Speaking of the great increase of the number of law books, he remarked, that it did not increase the quantity of necessary reading, as the new publications frequently rendered unnecessary the reading of the former. Thus, he said, after *Mr. Justice Blackstone* had published his *Commentaries*, no one thought of reading *Wood's Institutes*, or *Finch's Law*, which, till then, were the first books usually put into the hands of students. He said, that, when he was young, few persons would confess that they had not read a considerable part, at least, of the *Year-books*; but that, at the time in which he was speaking, few would pretend to more than an occasional recourse to them in very particular cases. He warmly recommended the part of *Giannone's History of Naples*, which gives the history of jurisprudence, and of the disputes between church and state. He mentioned *Chillingworth* as a perfect model of argumentation.

In the fundamental principles, either of the constitution or the jurisprudence of this country, no one more dreaded innovation. His speech on the case of *Eltham Allen* shows his notions on the great subject of toleration: it was published by *Dr. Furneaux*. He was the first judge who openly discountenanced prosecutions on the popery laws. His charge to the jury, in the case of *Mr. James Webb*, a Roman Catholic priest, tried in 1768, for saying mass, is printed from the notes of the shorthand writer, in a life of *Dr. Challoner*, a Roman Catholic bishop, by *Mr. James Barnard*.

To these may be added, a speech against the suspending and dispensing prerogative, printed in Mr. Almon's collection. It is an invaluable composition, and presents, perhaps, the clearest notions that have yet appeared in print, of this mysterious and delicate part of the law. It discovers much of his manner of arguing, and his turn of expression. It cannot, however, be considered as his genuine speech: it is at least three times larger than the speech really delivered by him. Lord Camden and lord Chatham differed from his lordship on the important subject in debate: but it was admitted that his lordship, who had often shown an unwillingness to combat with them singly, obtained, on this occasion, a complete triumph over their united powers.

It has been argued, that his knowledge of the law was by no means profound; and that his great professional eminence was owing more to his oratory than his knowledge. This was an early charge against him. Mr. Pope alludes to it in these lines:

"The Temple late two brother sergeants saw,
Who deem'd each other oracles of law;
Each had a gravity would make you split,
And shook his head at *Murray* as a wit."

Imitations of Horace, book ii. epist. ii.

Perhaps the opinion was founded on the notion which many entertain, that the study of polite literature is incompatible with a profound knowledge of the law; not recollecting, that the human mind necessarily requires some relaxation, and that a change of study is the greatest and most natural of all relaxations, to a mind engaged in professional pursuits. Besides,—the *communis vinculum* between all branches of learning, preserves the habits of application, of thinking, and of judging, which

are lost in the modes of dissipation usually resorted to for relaxation. The *chancellor d'Aguesseau*,* and even the stern *Du Moulin*, were eminently distinguished by their general literature. *Lord Bacon's* various and profound knowledge is universally known ; and many works of *lord Hale* are published, which show, that to the deepest and most extensive knowledge of all the branches of the law, the constitution, and the antiquities of his country, he united a general acquaintance with the history of other nations ; that he had given much of his time to the study of theology ; that he occasionally sacrificed to the muses, and spent some time in the curious and instructive amusements of experimental philosophy. It was late in life, that *lord Hardwicke* took up the study of polite literature, but he afterward pursued it with great earnestness. His son, *lord Chancellor Yorke*, always called himself a fugitive from the muses ; and, amidst his vast variety of occupations, still found time to converse with them. The elegant attainments of *sir William Scott* have not prevented him from being the most eminent civilian of his time, and essentially contributing, by the profound wisdom, perfect justice, and admirable expression of his decisions, in the numerous cases, which are brought from every part of the globe to the court in which he presides, to the high elevation which his country holds in the scale of nations. *Lord Thurlow's* passion for classical literature is generally known. Each of these great men might have said with Cicero, "*Quis tandem me reprehendat, aut quis mihi jure succenseat, si quantum ceteris, ad suas res obeundas, quantum ad festos dies ludorum celebrandos, quantum ad alias voluptates, et ad ip-*

* This great magistrate used to say, "*Le changement d'étude est toujours un delassement pour moi.*"

*"sām requiem animi et corporis conceditur temporis;
 "quantum alii tribuunt tempestivis convivis, quantum
 "denique aleæ, quantum pilæ tantum mihi egomet, ad hæc
 "studia recolenda sumpsero."*

To decide on lord Mansfield's knowledge of the law, a serious perusal of his arguments, as counsel, in Mr. Atkyns' Reports, and of his speeches, as judge, in sir James Burrow's, Mr. Douglas', and Mr. Cowper's, is absolutely necessary. If the former be compared with the arguments of his contemporaries, many of whom were men of the profoundest knowledge that ever appeared at the chancery bar, it will not be discovered, that in learning or research, in application of principles, or in recollection of cases, his arguments are inferior to those of the most eminent among them. Nor will he suffer by the comparison, if his speeches, in giving his judgments from the bench, are compared with those of the counsel at the bar. It may be admitted, that, on some one occasion, a judge, with his lordship's mental endowments, by a particular application to the learning, immediately referrible to the case in question, and by consulting with persons eminently skilled in that particular branch of legal lore, may, with a very small stock of real knowledge of his own, express himself with a great appearance of extensive and recondite erudition. This, however, can be the case but seldom; the calls upon a chief justice of the king's bench for a full exertion of all his natural and acquired endowments being incessant. There is hardly a day of business in his court, in which a disclosure of his knowledge or his want of it, is not forced from him.

Considering his lordship's decisions separately, it will appear, that on all occasions he was perfectly master of

the case before him, and apprized of every principle of law, and every adjudication of the courts, immediately or remotely applicable to it. Considering them collectively, they will be found to form a complete code of jurisprudence on some of the most important branches of our law : a system founded on principles equally liberal and just, admirably suited to the genius and circumstances of the age, and happily blending the venerable doctrines of the old law, with the learning and refinement of modern times ; the work of a mind nobly gifted by nature, and informed with every kind of learning which could serve for use and ornament.*

It was not on great occasions only, that his lordship's talents were conspicuous : they were equally discoverable in the common business of the courts. *Par nego-*

* Mr. Burke has observed of lord Mansfield, that he sought to effect "the amelioration of the law, by making its liberality keep pace with justice and the actual concerns of the world ; and not restricting the infinitely diversified conditions of men, and the rules of natural justice, within artificial circumscriptions, but conforming principles to the growth of our commerce and our empire." See *the Report from the Committee to inspect the Lords' Journals, in relation to the Proceedings on the Trial of Warren Hastings, Esq. Burke's Works*, vol. xiv. p. 385. This report was penned by Mr. Burke, and may be ranked among the most valuable productions of his pen. It turns on a question of the highest importance both in legislation and jurisprudence,—whether in cases, for which neither the written nor unwritten law of a nation has provided, courts of law may make a provision for it, by conforming existing laws and principles to it, or by subtracting it from their operation. The question arose on a nice point in the doctrine of testimony ; and to this, the discussion in the report principally applies ; but it embraces the whole of the subject, and abounds in learning and profound observation ; unfortunately, its title is far from alluring, and it has, therefore, been little read.

tiis neque supra,* was never more applicable than to the discernment, perseverance, abilities, and good humour with which he conducted himself in this part of his office. The late earl of Sandwich said of him, "that his talents " were more for common use, and more at his finger ends, " than those of any other person he had known." But his highest praise is, that his private virtues were allowed by all, and his personal integrity was never called in question.

XI. 2.

Lord Hardwicke—Lord Camden—Lord Thurlow—Lord Rosslyn—Sir William Grant—Lord Eldon—Lord Kenyon.

1. At the period when the Reminiscent engaged in the profession of the law, the talents displayed by *lord Hardwicke* in the senate and on the bench, were the universal theme of panegyric. Some,—but faintly,—blamed him for too frequently permitting principles of equity to control rules of law: this charge was occasionally insinuated by lord Northington, his immediate successor. But the eminent merit of his lordship's general administration of justice in his court, was admitted by all. As far as we can form an opinion of it by the reports of the cases determined in his time, by Mr. Atkyns and Mr. Vesey, his style of speaking was easy, copious, and dignified. He seems to have been anxious to bring every case decided by him within the application of some general principle; always taking care to express himself guardedly and perspicuously: the terms in which lord Mansfield, Mr. Burke, and Mr. Wilkes, described his judicial arguments, have been mentioned.

* Tacitus, in *Vitâ Agricola*.

2. The Reminiscent distinctly remembers *lord Camden's* presiding in the court of chancery. His lordship's judicial eloquence was of the colloquial kind,—extremely simple : diffuse, but not desultory. He introduced legal idioms frequently, and always with a pleasing and great effect. His manner is very discernible in the anonymous "*Treatise of the Process of Latitat in Wales*," published in Mr. Hargrave's Law Tracts. In a note to Mr. Hargrave, which that gentleman communicated to the Reminiscent, his lordship acknowledged himself to be its author. Sometimes, however, his lordship rose to sublime strains of eloquence ; but their sublimity was altogether in the sentiment ; the diction retained its simplicity, and this increased the effect.*

3. *Lord Thurlow's* speeches from the bench were very different. They were strongly marked by depth of legal knowledge, and force of expression ; and by the overwhelming power with which he propounded the result. But they were too often enveloped in obscurity, and sometimes reason was rather silenced than convinced.

* It is known that his lordship, like many other distinguished personages, was a great reader of novels : and surely the hour of relaxation is as well employed in reading *Tom Jones*, or *Clarissa*, or any of the novels attributed to Sir Walter Scott, as in the perusal of the productions of party pens.

At a house of great distinction, ten gentlemen of taste were desired to frame, each of them, a list of the ten most entertaining works which they had read. One work only found its way into every list.—It may amuse the reader to guess it.—He will not be surprised to find it was—*Gil Blas*.

✓ If the Reminiscent may be allowed to give his opinion,—the *Conjuratation contre Venise of the Abbé de St. Réal*, is the most interesting of publications.

4. The *earl Rosslyn* seldom had justice done to his heart or his talents : we have mentioned his dereliction of the whigs, to whom he first attached himself in politics, and its having raised against him a prejudice from which he never recovered. Long, he ranked among the warmest and ablest friends of catholic emancipation ; but, in an evil hour, he sacrificed them at the commencement of lord Grenville's administration to the cry of " no popery," and instilled into the royal ear the scruples of the coronation oath. Of this, it is said, his lordship afterward repented.

His judicial oratory was exquisite. The greatest detractors from his merit acknowledged the perspicuity, the luminous order, and chaste elegance of his arguments. Like lord Camden, he frequently and successfully introduced law phrases into them. His greatest failings were, that he too clearly showed his want of attention to much of what he heard from the bar, and his want of real taste for legal learning. With this taste, lord Mansfield, lord Camden, and lord Thurlow, were thoroughly imbued. Lord Thurlow, long after he descended from the bench, sought for legal occupation.

5. The most perfect model of judicial eloquence which has come under the observation of the Reminiscent, is that of *sir William Grant*. In hearing him, it was impossible not to think of the character given of Menelaus, by Homer, or rather by Pope :—that,

" He spoke no more than just the thing he ought."

But *sir William* *did* much more :—in decomposing and analyzing an immense mass of confused and contradictory matter, and forming clear and unquestionable results, the sight of his mind was infinite. His exposition of facts, and of the consequences deducible from

them, his discussion of former decisions, and showing their legitimate weight and authority, and their real bearings upon the point in question, were above praise. But the whole was done with such admirable ease and simplicity, that while real judges felt its supreme excellence, the herd of hearers believed that they should have done the same.

Never was the merit of Dr. Johnson's definition of a perfect style,—“proper words in proper places,” more sensibly felt than it was by those who listened to sir William Grant. The charm of it was indescribable ;—its effect on the hearers was that, which Milton describes, when he paints Adam listening to the angel, after the angel had ceased to speak ;—often and often has the Reminiscent beheld the bar listening, at the close of a judgment given by Sir William, with the same feeling of admiration, at what they had heard, and the same regret that it was heard no more.

6. The Reminiscent feels it impossible to quit this subject without paying his humble, but sincere tribute of admiration to the noble earl, who now presides in the court of chancery. In profound, extensive, and accurate knowledge of the principles of his court, and the rules of practice by which its proceedings are regulated,—in complete recollection and just appreciation of former decisions,—in discerning the just inferences to be drawn from them,—in the power of instantaneously applying this immense theoretical and practical knowledge to the business immediately before the court,—in perceiving, almost with intuitive readiness, on the first opening of a case, its real state and the ultimate conclusion of equity upon it. yet investigating it with the most conscientious. most minute, and most edifying industry,—

in all, or in any of these requisites, for a due discharge of his high office,—*lord Eldon*, if he has been equalled, has assuredly never been surpassed by any of his predecessors. He throws a lustre on the whole profession to which he belongs; they gratefully acknowledge it, and will feel its loss. He has other merits: he has often opposed the popular voice; yet he has always been popular; but, to use the words of *lord Mansfield*,* “it has been “with that popularity which follows, not with that which “is run after:” he has almost always supported administration, but has never been subservient to any minister; and, among those, who, by the public opinion of the worth and dignity of their individual character, attach the people to the government, and thus secure its stability, his lordship is universally allowed to be eminently conspicuous. On all this, there is no dissentient voice; all, which these lines have expressed, or attempted to express, the *Reminiscent* has heard often, and much better, said by the late *sir Samuel Romilly*, both in public and in private: testimony goes no higher.

7. Much of the intuitive readiness which we have mentioned in the preceding article, was possessed by the late *lord Kenyon*; but the intermediate patient discussion was seldom exhibited by his lordship. The consequence was, that though the decision was right, the ground of it was sometimes obscure, and the objections to it, in the minds of the hearers, were not always removed. This lessened the merit of his adjudications; but they are most deservedly held in the greatest respect, and considered of the highest authority.†

* In the case of *Rex v. Wilkes*, 4 Burr. p. 2562.

† We have noticed the small proportion, which the courts of justice in England bear, in number, to those of France. In some prin-

Here the Reminiscent closes his mention of his juridical publications.

ciples of the highest importance in the administration of justice, the difference between them is equally remarkable. In England, the highest degree of evidence is always required to establish legal proof; heresy evidence is never admitted; and, in criminal causes, the person accused can never be required to answer any questions which tend to convict him. In all these instances, the courts of law, both of the ancient and the new régimes of France, have adopted a different system.

On the first of them, lord Mansfield was supposed to have thought with the French lawyers, that, speaking generally, evidence of every kind should be received, and the court judge of its weight,—presuming always against the party, who produced evidence of a lower degree, while the production of higher evidence was in his power. According to this system, if an action upon a bond was tried, and the witness of its execution resided in or near the place in which the cause was heard, and was under no mental or bodily infirmity which prevented his attending and giving evidence, nothing short of his personal testimony should be permitted to establish the bond: but, if the witness was out of the kingdom, so that his attendance in court could not be compelled; or, if he were summoned, and disobeyed the summons; or, if he lived at such a distance, as to render the expense of his attendance insupportable,—in all these instances, the absence of the first degree of evidence would be accounted for satisfactorily, and evidence of the next degree should therefore be admitted:—so that, under these circumstances, the evidence of a person acquainted with the hand-writing of the party, who executed the bond, and with the hand-writing of the parties, who witnessed its execution, should be received as adequate testimony of both.

It is evident that the contrary practice of the English law in such a case, exposes creditors to great inconveniences; and frequently deprives them of the means of enforcing a just demand;—still, the Reminiscent suspects, that a different practice would lead to a laxity in the doctrine of testimony, that would produce, in its consequences, greater inconvenience and greater injustice.

Whether in a criminal action the person accused should be bound to answer questions tending to convict him of the crime for which he is tried, appears to the Reminiscent a much nicer question.

XII.

PARLIAMENTARY ELOQUENCE :—LORD CHATHAM—LORD
NORTH—MR. FOX—MR. PITT—MR. BURKE.

THE administration of lord North was certainly an era in the history of British eloquence : what, in respect to the orators of Rome, is observed by Velleius Paterculus of Cicero, will probably be said of lord North, that “ no member of either house of the British parliament “ will be ranked among the orators of this country, “ whom lord North did not see, or who did not see lord “ North.”

XII. 1.

Lord Chatham.

OF those, by whom lord North was preceded, none, probably, except lord Chatham, will be remembered by posterity ; but the nature of the eloquence of this extraordinary man, it is extremely difficult to describe.

No person in his external appearance was ever more bountifully gifted by nature for an orator. In his look and his gesture, grace and dignity were combined, but dignity presided ; the “ terrors of his beak, the lightnings of his eye,” were insufferable. His voice was both full and clear ; his lowest whisper was distinctly heard, his middle tones were sweet, rich, and beautifully varied ; when he elevated his voice to its highest pitch, the house was completely filled with the volume of the sound. The effect was awful, except when he wished to cheer or animate ; he then had spirit-stirring notes, which were perfectly irresistible. He frequently rose, on a sudden, from a very low to a very high key, but it

seemed to be without effort. His diction was remarkably simple, but words were never chosen with greater care ; he mentioned to a friend of the Reminiscent, that he had read twice, from beginning to end, *Bailey's Dictionary* ; and that he had perused some of *Dr. Barrow's Sermons* so often as to know them by heart.

His sentiments too, were apparently simple ; but sentiments were never adopted or uttered with greater skill ; he was often familiar and even playful, but it was the familiarity and playfulness of condescension—the lion that dandled with the kid. The terrible, however, was his peculiar power.—Then the whole house sunk before him.—Still he was dignified ; and wonderful as was his eloquence it was attended with this most important effect, that it impressed every hearer with a conviction that there was something in him even finer than his words ; that the man was infinitely greater than the orator ; no impression of this kind was made by the eloquence of his son, or his son's antagonist.

Still,—with the great man,—for great he certainly was, —manner did much. One of the fairest specimens which we possess of his lordship's oratory, is his speech, in 1776, for the repeal of the stamp act.

"Annuit, et nutu totum tremefecit Olumpum."

VIRGIL.

Most, perhaps, who read the report of this speech, in Almon's Register, will wonder at the effect, which it is known to have produced on the hearers ; yet the report is tolerably exact, and exhibits, although faintly, its leading features. But they should have seen the look of ineffable contempt with which he surveyed the late Mr. Grenville, who sat within one of him, and should have

heard him say with that look,—“As to the late ministry,—every capital measure they have taken, has been entirely wrong.” They should also have beheld him, when addressing himself to Mr. Grenville’s successors, he said,—“As to the present gentlemen,—those, at least, whom I have in my eye,”—(looking at the bench on which Mr. Conway sat,)—“I have no objection; I have never been made a sacrifice by any of them.—Some of them have done me the honour to ask my poor opinion, before they would engage to repeal the act:—they will do me the justice to own, I did advise them to engage to do it,—but notwithstanding—(for I love to be explicit,)—I cannot give them my confidence. Pardon me, gentlemen,”—(bowing to them,)—“confidence is a plant of slow growth.” Those, who remember the air of condescending protection, with which the bow was made, and the look given, when he spoke these words, will recollect how much they themselves, at the moment, were both delighted and awed, and what they themselves then conceived of the immeasurable superiority of the orator over every human being that surrounded him. In the passages which we have cited, there is nothing which an ordinary speaker might not have said; it was the manner, and the manner only, which produced the effect.

An interesting and accurate account of Mr. Pitt’s style of oratory, and its prodigious effect on his audience, may be found in a letter of lord Holland, his distinguished contemporary, published in the appendix to lord Waldegrave’s *Memoirs*.*

“Mr. Wilkes, a friend it seems of Pitt’s, petitioned

“ against the younger Delaval, chose at Berwick, on ac-
 “ count of bribery only. The younger Delaval made a
 “ speech on his being thus attacked, full of wit, humour,
 “ and buffoonery, which kept the house in a continual
 “ roar of laughter. Mr. Pitt came down from the gallery,
 “ and took it up in his highest tone of dignity. ‘ He was
 “ astonished when he heard what had been the occasion
 “ of their mirth. Was the dignity of the house of com-
 “ mons on so sure foundations, that they might venture
 “ themselves to shake it?—Had it not, on the contrary,
 “ by gradations been diminishing for years, till now we
 “ were brought to the very brink of the precipice, where,
 “ if ever, a stand must be made?’—High compliments to
 “ the speaker,—eloquent exhortation to whigs of all
 “ conditions, to defend their attacked and expiring
 “ liberty, &c. ‘ Unless you will degenerate into a little
 “ assembly, serving no other purpose than to register the
 “ arbitrary edicts of one too powerful subject,’ (laying on
 “ the words *one* and *subject* the most remarkable empha-
 “ sis.) I have verified these words by five or six different
 “ people, so that your lordship may be assured they were
 “ his very words. When I came in, he was recapitulat-
 “ ing, and ended with ‘ *our being designed, or likely,*’ (I
 “ cannot tell which he said,) ‘ *to be an appendix to—I*
 “ *know not what—I have no name for it.*’ Displeased,
 “ as well as pleased, allow it to be the finest speech that
 “ was ever made; and it was observed, that, by his first
 “ two periods, he brought the house to a silence and at-
 “ tention, that you might have heard a pin drop. Except
 “ the words marked, observe that I do not pretend to
 “ give your lordship his words, but only the purport of
 “ his speech, of which a good deal was on bribery, I sup-
 “ pose, and the manner of treating it, which so much

“tended to lower, what was already too low, the authority of the house of commons. The Speaker shook him by the hand, ready to shake it off; which, I hear, gave almost as great offence as the speech. I just now hear the duke of Newcastle was in the utmost fidget, and that it spoiled his stomach yesterday.”

Nothing can be better related; but, *absit invidia verbo*, is it quite clear that lord Holland was fully sensible of what produced the effect which he has described so well? From his anxiety to ascertain the exact words spoken by lord Chatham, his lordship seems to have thought that the words produced the effect; but it seems evident that it was the manner, not the words, that did the wonder. This, however, used to escape the observation of the hearers: they were blind to lord Chatham's manner, and ascribed the whole to what he said. Judging of this by the effect which it produced on them, they concluded that what he said was infinitely finer than it really was, or even than any words could be. This was one of the most marvellous qualities of his oratory.*

Both his son and Mr. Fox made abler speeches; but

* An account of this speech was given to the Reminiscent by Mr. Wilkes.—That gentleman opposed the Delavals, at the election for Berwick, mentioned by lord Holland; and the Delavals having, from a motive of economy, sent up their London voters to Berwick by sea, Mr. Wilkes induced the captain of the vessel, by a large bribe, to land them in Norway: for this Mr. Wilkes was threatened with a prosecution. He mentioned to the Reminiscent that, when Mr. Pitt rose, and began to speak in the solemn and austere manner, mentioned in lord Holland's letter, he thought the thunder was to fall upon him;—and he declared, that he never, while he was at Westminster, felt greater terror, when he was called up to be chastised, than he did, while the uncertainty lasted; or felt greater jubilation when he was pardoned, than when he found the bolt was destined for another head.

neither had those moments of transcendent greatness which lord Chatham often had ; both were often heard with pleasure and wonder ; neither, like his lordship, impressed the house with awe.

In another letter,* in the appendix to the same correspondence, lord Holland describes in half a line the effect of Mr. Pitt's oratory, when he intended to be severe, on the object of his severities. " In both Mr. Pitt's speeches, every word fell on Murray ;† yet so managed, that neither he nor any body else could or did take public notice of it, or in any degree reprehend him. I sat near Murray, *who suffered for an hour.*" It was, perhaps, on this occasion, that Pitt used an expression that once was in every mouth. After Murray had suffered for some time, Pitt stopped, threw his eyes around, then fixing their whole power on Murray, said, " I must now address a few words to Mr. Solicitor ; they shall be few,—but shall be daggers : " Murray was agitated ; the look was continued ; the agitation increased : " Judge Felix trembles ! " exclaimed Pitt, in a tone of thunder ; " he shall hear me some other day." He sat down ; Murray made no reply ; and a languid debate is said to have shown the paralysis of the house.

In another part of his Memoirs, lord Orford mentions a simile, used by Mr. Pitt with wonderful effect, and highly celebrated in its day. Alluding to the confluence of the Saône and Rhone, he assigned to Murray those parts of the King's speech, (then the subject of the debate,) which had a pacific sound, and those to Fox, which breathed war ; the former he compared to the glitter-

* Page 152.

† Lord Mansfield.

ing, gentle Sâone ; the latter to the muddy, turbid Rhone ; and through the whole of the comparison, drew with infinite art all his readers to observe the striking contrast, between the mild, lucid dignity of Murray's aspect, and his graceful and luminous eloquence, and the cloudy brow and clouded oratory of Fox. As this is exhibited by lord Orford, very little of its powerful charm is discernible ; but those who witnessed it, always mentioned it in a kind of transport of delight and admiration.*

The whole speech of lord Chatham, on the repeal of the stamp act, is very fine : " I sought for merit," said his lordship, " wherever it was to be found. It is my " boast, that I was the first minister who looked for it ; " and I found it in the mountains of the north. I called " it forth, and drew it into your service,—a hardy and " intrepid race of men. Men, who, when left by your " jealousy, became a prey to the artifices of your ene- " mies, and had gone nigh to have overturned the state, " in the war before the last. These men, in the last " war, were brought to combat on your side ; they served " with fidelity, as they fought with valour, and conquered " for you in every part of the world. Detested be the " national prejudices against them ! They are unjust, " groundless, illiberal, unmanly. When I ceased to serve " his majesty as minister, it was not the *country* of the " man† by which I was moved : but *the man of that*

* " During this whole session," (1755-8,) says Mr. Glover, in his Memoirs, " Mr. Pitt found occasion, in every debate, to confound the ministerial orators. His vehement invectives were awful to Murray ; terrible to Hume Campbell ; and no malefactor under the stripes of an executioner, was ever more forlorn and helpless than Fox appeared under the lash of Pitt's eloquence, shrewd and able in parliament as Fox confessedly is ; Dodington sheltered himself in silence."

† Lord Bute.

"country wanted wisdom, and held principles incompatible with freedom."

His celebrated reply to Horace Walpole has been immortalized by the report given of it by Dr. Johnson. On one occasion, Mr. Moreton, the chief justice of Chester, a gentleman of some eminence at the bar, happened to say, "King, lords, and commons, or," (directing his eye toward lord Chatham,) "as that right honourable member would call them,—commons, lords, and king." The only fault of this sentence is its nonsense. Mr. Pitt arose, as he ever did, with great deliberation, and called to order: "I have," he said, "heard frequently in this house, doctrines, which have surprised me; but now, my blood runs cold! I desire the words of the honourable member may be taken down." The clerks of the house wrote the words. "Bring them to me," said Mr. Pitt, in his loudest voice. By this time Mr. Moreton was frightened out of his senses. "Sir," he said, addressing himself to the Speaker, "I am sorry to have given any offence to the right honourable member, or to the house: I meant nothing." "King, lords, and commons; lords, king, and commons; commons, lords, and king; *tria juncta in uno*. I meant nothing! Indeed I meant nothing." "I don't wish to push the matter farther," said lord Chatham, in a tone a little above a whisper: then, in a higher note, "the moment a man acknowledges his error, he ceases to be guilty. I have a great regard for the honourable member, and, as an instance of that regard, I give him this advice:" a pause of some moments ensued, then assuming a look of unspeakable derision, he said, in a kind of colloquial tone, "Whenever that member *means* nothing, I recommend him to *say* nothing."

Once, while he was speaking, sir William Young called out, "Question, question!" Lord Chatham paused; then, fixing on sir William a look of inexpressible disgust, exclaimed, "Pardon me, Mr. Speaker, my agitation: when "that member calls for the question, I fear I hear the "knell of my country's ruin."

When the Prussian subsidy, an unpopular measure, was in agitation in the house of commons, lord Chatham justified it with infinite address: insensibly he subdued all his audience, and a murmur of approbation was heard from every part of the house. Availing himself of the moment, his lordship placed himself in an attitude of stern defiance, but perfect dignity, and exclaimed in his loudest tone, "Is "there an *Austrian* among you? Let him stand forward "and reveal himself!"

On another occasion, immediately after he had finished a speech, in the house of commons, he walked out of it; and, as usual, with a very slow step. A silence ensued, till the door was opened to let him into the lobby. A member then started up, saying, "I rise to reply "to the right honourable member." Lord Chatham turned back, and fixed his eye on the orator, who instantly sat down dumb: his lordship then returned to his seat, repeating, as he hobbled along, the verses of Virgil:

"Ast Danaum procures, Agamemnonisæque phalanges,
Ut videre virum, fulgentiaque arma per umbras,
Ingenti trepidare metu,—pars vertere retro,
Seu quondam petière rates,—pars tollere vocem
Exiguam,—inceptus clamor frustratur hiantes."

Then placing himself in his seat, he exclaimed, "Now "let me hear what the honourable member has to say to

"me." On the writer's asking the gentleman from whom he heard this anecdote, if the house did not laugh at the ridiculous figure of the poor member? "No, sir," he replied, "we were all too much awed to laugh."

But the most extraordinary instance of his command of the house, is, the manner in which he fixed indelibly on Mr. Grenville, the appellation of "the Gentle Shepherd." At this time, a song of Dr. Howard, which began with the words, "Gentle shepherd, tell me where," and in which each stanza ended with that line, was in every mouth. On some occasion, Mr. Grenville exclaimed, "Where is our money? where are our means? I say again, where are our means? where is our money." He then sat down, and lord Chatham paced slowly out of the house, humming the line, "Gentle shepherd, tell me where." The effect was irresistible, and settled for ever on Mr. Grenville the appellation of "the Gentle Shepherd."

A gentleman mentioned the two last circumstances to the late Mr. Pitt; the minister observed that they were proofs of his father's ascendancy in the house; but that no specimens remained of the eloquence by which that ascendancy was procured. The gentleman recommended to him to read slowly his father's speeches for the repeal of the stamp act; and, while he repeated them, to bring to his mind, as well as he could, the figure, the look, and the voice, with which his father might be supposed to have pronounced them. Mr. Pitt did so, and admitted the probable effect of the speech thus delivered.

Almost for the last time, lord Chatham displayed his admirable eloquence in opposing the address moved in the house of lords, on his late majesty's speech from the throne in 1778. Some censure having been ex-

pressed on the employing of savages against the armies of the insurgent Americans, the measure was defended by his majesty's ministers; and the pompous Suffolk, as he is described by Junius, declared that "administration would have been highly reprehensible, if, entrusted as they were with the suppression of so unnatural a rebellion, they had not used all the means to suppress it, which God and Nature had put into their hands:"—Lord Chatham rose, and said, "My lords, —I cannot,—I will not join in congratulation on misfortune and disgrace. This, my lords, is a perilous and tremendous moment—it is not a time for adulation—the smoothness of flattery cannot save us in this rugged and awful crisis. It is now necessary to instruct the throne in the language of truth. We must, if possible, dispel the delusion and darkness which envelope it; and display in its full danger and genuine colours the ruin which is brought to our doors. Can ministers still presume to expect support in their infatuation? Can parliament be so dead to their dignity and duty, as to give their support to measures thus obtruded and forced upon them? Measures, my lords, which have reduced this late flourishing empire to scorn and contempt.

"But yesterday, and England might have stood against the world—now, none so poor to do her reverence! The people, whom we at first despised as *rebels*, but whom we now acknowledge as *enemies*, are abetted against you, supplied with every military store, have their interest consulted, and their ambassadors entertained by your inveterate enemy—and ministers do not and dare not interpose with dignity or effect. The desperate state of our army abroad is in part known.

"No man more highly esteems and honours the English
 "troops than I do; I know their virtues and their
 "valour; I know they can achieve any thing but impos-
 "sibilities; and I know that the conquest of English
 "America is an impossibility. You *cannot*, my lords,
 "you *cannot* conquer America. What is your present
 "situation there? *We do not know the worst*; but we
 "know that in three campaigns we have done nothing
 "and suffered much. You may swell every expense,
 "accumulate every assistance, and extend your traffic
 V "to the shambles of every German despot; your at-
 "tempts will be for ever vain and impotent—doubly so,
 "indeed, from the mercenary aid on which you rely;
 "for it irritates, to an incurable resentment, the minds
 "of your adversaries, to over-run them with the merce-
 "nary sons of rapine and plunder, devoting them and
 "their possessions to the rapacity of hireling cruelty.
 "If I were an American, as I am an Englishman, while
 "a foreign troop was landed in my country, I never ✓
 "would lay down my arms—*never, never, never!* But,
 "my lords, who is the man, that, in addition to the dis-
 "graces and mischiefs of the war, has dared to autho-
 "rize and associate to our arms the *tomahawk* and *scalp-*
 "ing knife of the savage? to call into civilized alliance ✓
 "the wild and inhuman inhabitant of the woods? to dele-
 "gate to the merciless Indian the defence of disputed
 "rights, and to wage the horrors of his barbarous war
 "against our brethren? My lords, these enormities cry
 "aloud for redress and punishment. But, my lords, this
 "barbarous measure has been defended, not only on the
 "principles of policy and necessity, but also on those of
 "morality; 'for it is perfectly allowable,' says lord Suf-
 "folk, 'to use all the means which God and Nature

" have put into our hands !' I am astonished, I am
 " shocked, to hear such principles confessed, to hear
 " them avowed in the house, or this country. My lords,
 " I did not intend to encroach so much on your atten-
 " tion ; but I cannot repress my indignation ; I feel my-
 " self impelled to speak. My lords, we are called upon
 " as members of this house, as men, as Christians, to
 " protest against such horrible barbarity—' that God
 " and Nature have put into our hands !' What ideas of
 " God and Nature that noble lord may entertain, I know
 " not ; but I know that such detestable principles are
 " equally abhorrent to religion and humanity. What !
 " to attribute the sacred sanction of God and Nature to
 " the massacres of the Indian scalping-knife ! to the can-
 " nibal savage, torturing, murdering, devouring, drinking
 " the blood of his mangled victims ! Such notions shock
 " every precept of morality, every feeling of humanity,
 " every sentiment of honour. These abominable prin-
 " ciples, and this most abominable avowal of them, de-
 " V mand the most decisive indignation. I call upon that
 " right reverend, and this most learned bench, to vindi-
 " cate the religion of their God, to support the justice
 " of their country. I call upon the bishops to interpose
 " the sanctity of their lawn, upon the judges to interpose
 " the purity of their ermine, to save us from this pol-
 " lution. I call upon the honour of your lordships to
 " reverence the dignity of your ancestors, and to main-
 " tain your own. I call upon the spirit and humanity
 " of my country to vindicate the national character. I
 " invoke the *Genius of the Constitution*. From the tapes-
 " try, that adorn these walls, the immortal ancestor of
 " this noble lord frowns with indignation at the disgrace
 " of his country. In vain did he defend the liberty, and

“ establish the religion of Britain, against the tyranny of
 “ Rome, if these worse than popish cruelties and inquisitorial practices are endured among us. To send
 “ forth the merciless cannibal, thirsting for blood ! against
 “ whom ? your protestant brethren ? To lay waste their
 “ country, to desolate their dwellings, and extirpate their
 “ race and name by the aid and instrumentality of these
 “ horrible *hell-hounds of war* ! Spain can no longer boast
 “ pre-eminence in barbarity. She armed herself with
 “ blood hounds to extirpate the wretched natives of
 “ Mexico ; we, more ruthless, loose these *dogs of war*
 “ against our countrymen in America, endeared to us by
 “ every tie, that can sanctify humanity. I solemnly call
 “ upon your lordships, and upon every order of men in
 “ the state, to stamp upon this infamous procedure the
 “ indelible stigma of public abhorrence. More particularly, I call upon the holy prelates of our religion
 “ to do away this iniquity ; let them perform a lustration
 “ to purify the country from this deep and deadly sin.
 “ My lords, I am old and weak, and at present unable to
 “ say more ; but my feelings and indignation were too
 “ strong to have said less. I could not have slept this
 “ night in my bed, nor even reposed my head upon my
 “ pillow, without giving vent to my eternal abhorrence of
 “ such enormous and preposterous principles.”

In private intercourse, lord Chatham, though always lofty, was very insinuating. The prince of Wales, the grandfather of our present sovereign, and Mr. Pitt, were once walking in the garden at Stow, apart from the general company, who followed them at some distance. They seemed to be engaged in earnest conversation : lord Cobham expressed to Mr. Belson, from whom the writer received this anecdote, an apprehension of Mr.

Pitt's drawing the prince into some measures which his lordship disapproved. Mr. Belson observed to his lordship that the *tête-à-tête* could not be of long duration. "Sir," said his lordship with eagerness, "you don't know Mr. Pitt's talent of insinuation; in a very short quarter of an hour he can persuade any one of any thing."

As a companion in festive moments Mr. Pitt was enchanting. Mr. Wilkes* closed a humorous comparison, after Plutarch's manner, of Mr. Pitt, with Mr. Rigby, by the following words:—"In their more private characters both Mr. Pitt and Mr. Rigby have generosity and spirit: in other things they differ; Mr. Pitt is abstemious, temperate, and regular. Mr. Rigby indulges more in convivial pleasure, is an excellent *bon vivant*, amiable and engaging. Mr. Pitt, by the most manly sense, and the fine sallies of a warm and sportive imagination, can charm the whole day, and, as the Greek said, his entertainments please even the day after they are given. Mr. Rigby has all the gibes and gambols, and flashes of merriment, which set the table in a roar; but—the day after, a cruel headach *at least* frequently succeeds. In short, I wish to spend all my days with Mr. Pitt, but I am afraid that at night I should often skulk to Mr. Rigby and his friends."

Through life, Mr. Pitt cultivated the muses. Mr. Seward's *Anecdotes* contained an imitation by him of the ode of Horace, "*Tyrrhena regum progenies*," which shows a very classical mind. He also translated the speech of Pericles, inserted in Smith's version of Thucydides: this, through one person only, came to the writer of these pages from the late Mr. Pitt.

* North Britain, No. xxxi.

His acceptance of a peerage would have been defensible, if it had not had the fatal effect of lessening the belief of public virtue, already shaken by the apostasy of Pulteney.* His insisting on the retention of Canada,—which, if it had been left in the hands of the French, might have proved an effectual check on the rebellious projects of the American colonists,—in preference to the islands, which France was willing to cede to us, was, at the time, a matter of surprise to many : M. de Vergennes used to mention it, as one of the greatest political errors that had ever been committed.

We have two characters of lord Chatham ; one is attributed to Grattan ; the other was certainly written by Mr. Wilkes.

XII. 2.

Lord North.

A VERY expressive word in our language, which describes an assemblage of many real virtues, of many qualities approaching nearly to virtue, and an union of manners at once pleasing and commanding respect,—the word “gentleman,” was never applied to any person in a higher degree, or more generally, than it was to lord North, and to all he said or did in the house of commons.

His lordship did not aspire to the higher eloquence, but the house never possessed a more powerful debater ; nor could any one avail himself of the strong part of a cause with greater ability, or defend its weak,

* This produced Dr. Akenside’s *Epistle to Curio* ; a successful effort of his muse ; but, like the general style of his strains, rather eloquence in metre, than poetry.

with greater skill : no speaker was ever so conciliating, or enjoyed a greater proportion of the esteem and love of the house. Among his political adversaries, he had not a single enemy. With an unwieldy figure and a dull eye, the quickness of his mind seemed intuition. "I,"—lord Sandwich once said to the Reminiscent,— "must have pen and ink, and write down, and ruminate : give lord North a bundle of papers, and he'll turn them over,—perhaps, while his hair is dressing ; and he instantly knows their contents and bearings." His wit was never surpassed, and it was attended with this singular quality, that it never gave offence, and the object of it was sure to join with pleasure in the laugh. The assault of Mr. Adam on Mr. Fox, and of colonel Fullarton on lord Shelburne, had once put the house into the worst possible humour, and there was more or less of savageness in every thing that was said :—lord North deprecated the too great readiness to take offence, which then seemed to possess the house. "One member," he said, "who spoke of me, called me, 'that thing called a minister : '—to be sure,"—he said, patting his large form, "I am a thing ; the member, therefore, when he called me a thing, said what was true ; and I could not be angry with him ; but, when he added, that thing called a minister, he called me that thing, which, of all things, he himself wished most to be ; and, therefore," said lord North, "I took it as a compliment." These good-natured sallies dropped from him incessantly. On his resignation, he should have retired : many things, which may be defended, cannot be applauded ; the coalition between his lordship and Mr. Fox was of this description.

XII. 3.

Mr. Fox and Mr. Pitt.

ON his first separation from the ministry, Mr. Fox assumed the character of a whig; and, from this time, uniformly advocated, in consistency with that noble character, the great cause of civil and religious liberty, on their broadest principles.

Almost the whole of his political life was spent in opposition to his majesty's ministers. It may be said of him; as of lord North, that he had political adversaries, but no enemy. Good-nature, too easily carried to excess, was one of the distinctive marks of his character. In vehemence and power of argument he resembled Demosthenes; but there the resemblance ended. He possessed a strain of ridicule and wit, which nature denied to the Athenian; and it was the more powerful, as it always appeared to be blended with argument, and to result from it. To the perfect composition which so eminently distinguishes the speeches of Demosthenes, he had no pretence. He was heedless of method:—having the complete command of good words, he never sought for better: if those, which occurred, expressed his meaning clearly and forcibly, he paid little attention to their arrangement or harmony. This detracts from the merit of his speeches, when they are read; but, when they were delivered, it perhaps added to their effect, as it tended greatly to make the hearers believe that he was above art, and spoke from conviction. Nothing more strongly recommends a speaker to his audience, or gives greater force to his oratory.

The moment of his grandeur was, when, after he had stated the argument of his adversary, with much

greater strength than his adversary had done, and with much greater than any of his hearers thought possible, he seized it with the strength of a giant, and tore and trampled on it to destruction. If, at this moment, he had possessed the power of the Athenian over the passions or the imaginations of his hearers, he might have disposed of the house at his pleasure ; but this was denied to him ; and, on this account, his speeches fell very short of the effect, which otherwise they must have produced.

It is difficult to decide on the comparative merit of him and Mr. Pitt ; the latter had not the vehement reasoning, or argumentative ridicule, of Mr. Fox : but he had more splendour, more imagery, and much more method and discretion. His long, lofty, and reverential panegyrics of the British constitution, his eloquent vituperations of those, whom he described as advocating the democratic spirit then let loose on the inhabitants of the earth, and his solemn adjuration of the house, to defend and to assist him, in defending their all against it, were, in the highest degree, both imposing and conciliating. In addition, he had the command of bitter, contemptuous sarcasm, which tortured to madness. This he could expand or compress at pleasure : even in one member of a sentence, he could inflict a wound that was never healed. Mr. Fox having made an able speech, Mr. Erskine followed him with one of the very same import. Mr. Pitt rose to answer them : he announced his intention to reply to both ; “ but,” said he, “ I shall make no mention of what was said by the “ honourable gentleman who spoke last ; he did no more “ than regularly repeat what was said by the member who “ preceded him, and regularly weaken all he repeated.”

It was prettily said by the historian of the Roman empire, that "Charles' black collier would soon sink Billy's painted galley:"—but never did horoscope prove more false;—Mr. Fox said more truly—"Pitt will do for us, if he should not do for himself."

Mr. Fox had a captivating earnestness of tone and manner; Mr. Pitt was more dignified than earnest. The action of Mr. Fox was easy and graceful; Mr. Pitt's cannot be praised. It was an observation of the reporters in the gallery, that it required great exertion to follow Mr. Fox while he was speaking; none to remember what he had said; that it was easy and delightful to follow Mr. Pitt; not so easy to recollect what had delighted them. It may be added, that, in all Mr. Fox's speeches, even when he was most violent, there was an unquestionable indication of good humour, which attracted every heart. Where there was such a seeming equipoise of merit, the two last circumstances might be thought to turn the scale: but Mr. Pitt's undeviating circumspection,—sometimes concealed, sometimes ostentatiously displayed,—tended to obtain for him, from the considerate and the grave, a confidence which they denied to his rival:—Besides, Mr. Pitt had no coalition, no India bill to defend.

Much, that awes by power or charms by beauty, was heard in the harangues of both: but, while Fox spoke, his argument only was thought of; while Pitt harangued, all his other excellencies had their due measure of attention. Each made better speeches than lord Chatham; neither of them possessed even one of those moments of supreme dominion,* which, (he is sensible how

* "Sailing with supreme dominion,
Through the azure tracts of air."

very imperfectly,) the Reminiscent has attempted to describe.

Both orators were verbose: Mr. Fox by his repetitions; Mr. Pitt by his amplifications. Mr. Grattan observed to the Reminiscent, that no person had heard Mr. Fox to advantage, who had not heard him before the coalition; or Mr. Pitt, who had not heard him before he quitted office. Each defended himself on these occasions with surprising ability: but each felt he had done something that required defence:—the talent remained, the mouth still spoke great things, but the swell of soul was no more.* The situation of these eminent

* This remark of Mr. Grattan was just; and it does honour to the English nation, as it shows their high sense of immaculate character.

Mentioning the murder of the duke d'Enghien by the order of Buonaparte, Talleyrand is reported to have said, "*C'était plus qu'un crime, ç'était une faute*:"—"it was worse than a crime, it was a blunder." We believe that such an expression was never uttered by an Englishman, and that it would be heard by no Englishman without disgust. What Englishman has not heard with disgust of the restored monarch's taking Talleyrand into favour, or of his slights of the Vendéans? What an unhappy imitation of the worst part of the character of Charles the second!

It is known that Buonaparte ascribed the atrocious execution of the duke d'Enghien to Talleyrand. In a conversation, which the ex-emperor held at Elba, with a friend of the Reminiscent, he mentioned the circumstance with regret: "*J'en étais fâché; ç'était un brave jeune homme; ç'était la faute de Talleyrand*." The whole conversation to which the Reminiscent has referred is highly interesting; he apprehends that his readers will be pleased with the following account of an important portion of it.

"I most willingly comply with your request, in giving you an account of some parts of the conversation I had the good fortune to have with the emperor Napoleon.—After conversing, for about a quarter of an hour, on various subjects, relative mostly to the opinions entertained of him in France,—he suddenly asked me, if I

men on these occasions, put the Reminiscent in mind of a remark of Bossuet on Fénelon: "Fénelon," he said,

had not been educated in that country; to which I replied that I had; and that a person, on whom his imperial majesty had conferred great honours, was at the same college, and at the same time:—he asked me who he was; I told him the duke of Treviso, martial Mortier. 'Have you seen him in Paris,' said the emperor; 'and what does he say of me?' I answered, 'That I had not, because he was not at his country seat; but that, if I might be permitted, I would state to his majesty an anecdote of his conduct, after the battle of Talavera.' He warmly replied, 'I shall be delighted to hear it.'—I then observed, that, after the battle, he found he had some English officers, as prisoners, in his possession. He told them that 'the fortune of war might make prisoners of the bravest,' he observed, that 'officers, thus situated, were frequently distressed for want of money; he therefore hoped that he might be permitted to put into each of their hands twenty napoleons, which, at their convenience, they would replace to his credit at their bankers in London.' The emperor instantly, and with warmth, exclaimed, 'Je suis charmé de l'entendre; cela me fait grand plaisir; mais cela ne me surprend pas, c'est digne de lui.' He then said, 'If you were educated in France, you are, perhaps, a catholic.' I said I was. 'Je le suis aussi,' replied his majesty; and added, 'on ne quitte jamais la religion de ses parens.'—This led him on to a long discussion of what is called the catholic question, and of the law, which he denominated 'la loi du texte,' meaning our test act. He became very animated, and with evident pride to himself, contrasted his mode of governing to that pursued in Great Britain; laughed at men being frightened, in this enlightened age, at popes or priests; and observed, with great emphasis, that his rule of conduct had been to extinguish all religious animosities, by giving to all, an identity of interests, and thus to consolidate public opinion to his government. He added, 'I gave to the Protestants and to the catholics pecuniary establishments, and equal civil rights; and I found, to the last hour of my reign, the Protestants warmly attached to me. The Jews also participated in all civil rights; and I found them, not only in France, but in the many difficulties in which I was engaged, in my campaigns in Poland, warmly attached to me.' The conversation then turned on various points,

“ has great talents : much greater than mine : it is his
 “ misfortune to have brought himself into a situation, in
 “ which all his talents are necessary for his defence.”

his opinion of our regent, and other sovereigns of Europe, and on several other topics, until it came to the developement of his opinions on the many great benefits he had conferred on the French empire. The greatest of these he evidently considered the *Code Napoléon*, which, he said, happen what would to him, would carry his fame down to posterity.* He mentioned the ecclesiastical establishments he had given to France, together with the increase and stimulus he has given to her internal trade ; these he classed among his most salutary acts of civil legislation. He said that he pretended not to have more religion than other men ; but that he had always entertained an opinion that an ecclesiastical establishment was necessary for a people. On that principle he had acted, and had formed a concordat with the pope. He then entered at large on the situation of France, when he became consul ; and stated, among other things, that, when he entered upon its government, he found property without security, a people without spiritual ministers, churches turned into temples of reason, and anarchy and confusion in the country. That, in forming the ecclesiastical establishment, he considered that the priesthood should not be too rich, and, at the same time, that they should be independent ; but, to consolidate the church with the state, he made both the treasury and the land-owners pay toward the maintenance of the priesthood. After dwelling on various particulars, he entered slightly on the subject of education, which, he said, it was his intention to have greatly improved. He asked me, if I had noticed any of the institutions of the *Brothers of the Christian Doctrine* ; I answered, that I had visited very minutely two of their establishments. On this he observed, that it was his intention to have very much increased them, as he believed them to be good practical institutions for the education of the lower classes of the people ; that he had endowed several, and that the prefects had reported, generally, very well of them. The conversation shortly after turned

* It certainly will :—this, the Reminiscent has heard some royalist and even ultra-royalist magistrates of the ancien régime unequivocally acknowledge.

On two occasions, Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox may be thought to have brought into the field, something like an equality of force. When the attack was made on the coalition, Mr. Pitt had the king; Mr. Fox, a great majority of the members of the house of commons, on his side: when the regency was debated, Mr. Pitt had the same majority in the house; Mr. Fox had the heir-apparent: the tug of war was great: but may it not be said, that, on each occasion, Mr. Fox facilitated by his imprudence the victory of his adversary. "Give me," said the cardinal de Retz, to a person who had tauntingly observed to him the superiority of cardinal Mazarin over him, "Give me the king but for one day, and you'll see which has the real superiority." Mr. Fox never had the king with him, even for an hour.

The most astonishing display of talent by Mr. Pitt, witnessed by the Reminiscent, was, when the catholic bill was first agitated after his return to office. Narrow and short, was the only plank on which he could stand; but there he placed himself *a plomb*; and he defended himself upon it with such ease and adroitness, that he was seldom touched by his adversaries, and often had the posture of a successful assailant.

The short duration of Mr. Fox's administration makes upon England. He said, that, for several years, England had been at the zenith of her glory; that she might, for some time, remain there;—but, that such must be the pressure on her, from her immense national debt, and such the necessary decrease of her trade, from the great stimulus he had given to the commerce of continental nations, that her descent into the rank of secondary nations was nearer at hand than was probably generally imagined.

"These are the very words of some parts of the conversation I had the honour to hold with this most extraordinary man; a conversation which to the hour of my death I shall never forget."

any comparison of the ministerial talents of the illustrious rivals impossible. The warmest admirer of Mr. Pitt* will scarcely compare him with cardinal Ximénès, cardinal Richélieu, or Cardinal Mazarin: each of these distinguished personages formed the boldest and most extensive projects, and succeeded in all that he projected. Mr. Pitt may be more properly compared with the noble earl who now directs the councils of the empire. If we consider the condition in which each received the nation, when the government of it was placed in his hands; and that, under the steerage of lord Liverpool, the vessel of the state, overladen and strained as she was by his predecessor, still moves on, and will assuredly—if lightened of a due proportion of the load, with which *he* charged her,—again occupy the port, and again prove equal to the highest destinies,—all must admit that his lordship does not suffer in comparison.

XII. 4.

Mr. Burke.

GREATLY inferior to both of these extraordinary men, if we are to judge of him by his speeches, as he delivered them,—but greatly superior to both, if we are to judge of him by his speeches, as he published them,—Edmund Burke will always hold an eminent rank among the most elevated characters of this country. Estimating him by

* Mr. Pitt's claims to praise for great talents, wisdom, and personal amiableness and respectability, are concisely and ably advocated by the late Mr. Rose in his "Brief Examination into the Increase of the Revenue, Commerce, and Navigation of Great Britain, during the Administration of the Right Hon. Wm. Pitt, with allusions to some of the principal Events which occurred in that period, and a Sketch of Mr. Pitt's character." Oct, 1806.

his written speeches, we shall find nothing comparable to him till we reach the Roman orator. Equal to that great man in dialectic, in imagery, in occasional splendour, and in general information ; excelling him in political wisdom, and the application of history and philosophy to politics, he yields to him in pathos, in grace, in taste, and even in that which was not the forte of Cicero, in discretion.

As an orator, in spite of his rich illustration, and charming and sublime philosophy, he sinks before Demosthenes. No speech of Mr. Burke's contains a passage finer than his description of Hyder Ali's invasion of the Carnatic, which we shall transcribe in a future page ; but, if we compare it with the description given by Demosthenes of the consternation of the Athenians on receiving the news of the capture of Elatea, or with the passage which ends with his famous oath by the manes of those who fell at Marathon, we shall feel, even though we read them in Leland's translation, the immeasurable superiority of the Greek, and agree with Hume, that "if the manner of Demosthenes could be copied, its success would be infallible in a modern assembly."

A philosophical review of the speeches and writings of Mr. Burke, keeping his politics, as his inferior gift, in the back ground, might serve for the subject of an useful and interesting discussion.

What particularly distinguished him from the Greek and Roman orators, and from his contemporary rivals, were the countless lessons of civil and moral wisdom by which he dignified his compositions, and both enforced and illustrated his arguments : his sudden transitions from the grand to the gay, from sublimity to pleasantry, from the refined and recondite to the ordinary and obvious, and his frequent admixture of coarse and low ex-

pressions, even into his most splendid passages.* The effect of those was sometimes great, and then redeemed them; but they sometimes deformed and disgusted: "The Venus of Phidias," Wilkes used to say, "was so lovely, that the Athenians called her the Venus of roses: Lovely too, speaking generally, is the Venus of Burke; but she sometimes is the Venus of whiskey."

In familiar conversation, the three great men, whom we have mentioned, equally excelled: but even the most intimate friends of Mr. Fox complained of his too frequent ruminating silence. Mr. Pitt talked; and his talk was fascinating. A good judge said of him, that he was the only person he had known, who possessed the talent of of condescension. Yet his loftiness never forsook him; still, one might be sooner seduced to take liberties with him, than with Mr. Fox. With each, the baton du général was in sight, but Mr. Pitt's animation and playfulness frequently made it unobserved: this was not so often the case with Mr. Fox. Mr. Burke's conversation was rambling, but splendid, rich and instructive beyond comparison.

XII. 5.

Miscellaneous Observations on Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox, and Mr. Burke.

IN a Critique of Mr. Pitt's ministerial conduct, written by the pen of a master, in the Edingburgh Review, for the month of June, in the year 1821, it is observed, that,—"the scenes, in which Mr. Pitt acted so conspicuous a part, are fast vanishing from the view,—thrown by

* The "pigging together in a truckle bed," and "the sow of imperial augury," will occur to every reader of these lines.

"others into the shade, rather than obscured by distance."

Lord Thurlow also is said to have remarked that—"Burke would be remembered after Pitt and Fox were forgotten."* Even now, while the ashes of Fox and Pitt are yet warm, and their eloquence may be said yet to sound in our ears, how much more are the speeches of Burke read, how much more of them is generally remembered.

But both Pitt and Fox have left some memorials of themselves, the remembrance and effects of which will certainly endure to the latest moments of the existence of Great Britain.

Mr. Pitt's resiling from the coalition,—his opposition to the India bill,—his consolidation of the customs,—his protection of the constitutional rights of the sovereign during his malady,—and his partial emancipation of the Roman Catholics, will be mentioned in the pages of history with universal commendation. The Irish Union, (which broke an injurious aristocracy, but, by increasing its absentees, both increased and perpetuated the ca-

* The meaning of lord Thurlow is evident: but the same phrase was used by the late Mr. Porson, with a happy ambiguity. When Mr. Cumberland presented his poem, intituled, "Calvary," to that gentleman, "Your poem," said Mr. Porson, "will certainly be read and admired, when Milton and Shakspeare shall be forgotten."

Mr. Porson was not profuse of compliments—"Sir," said a gentleman to him, at the dinner of the Literary Fund Society, "I have the honour to present to you Mr. Fitzgerald."—"A dead silence."—"Sir, I have the honour to present to you Mr. Fitzgerald, who recited the verses which you have just heard."—"A second dead silence."—"Sir, I have the honour to present to you Mr. Fitzgerald, who himself composed the verses which you have just heard."—"Sir," said Mr. Porson, "I am quite deaf."

lamily of Ireland,)—his sinking fund,—and some other parts of his administration, will always have both advocates and detractors. On the great disaster of his ministry—the unsuccessful war,—which revealed to France the secret of her strength ; to the other continental nations, the secret of their weakness ; to England, the distressing consequences, then a secret to her,—but, which she now so lamentably feels, of her excessive, though *perhaps* necessary exertions,—public opinion, both at home and abroad, is said by many to have decided against him,—and, on the supposition that the war was necessary, in favour of Burke.

Some time in the month of August, 1791, the Reminiscent called on that great man, and found him, as he usually was at this time, surrounded by many of the French nobility, and haranguing, with great eloquence, on the horrors of the French revolution, and the general ruin with which it threatened every state in Europe. One of his hearers interrupted him by saying, with somewhat more of levity, than suited either the seriousness of the subject, or the earnestness with which Burke was expressing himself,—“ Mais enfin, Monsieur, quand est “ *ce que nous retournerons dans la France ?* ”—“ Ja-
“ mais,”—was Mr. Burke’s answer. It was a word of wo : he pronounced it in a very impressive manner, and it evidently appalled the whole audience. After a short silence, during which his mind appeared to be labouring with something too big for utterance,—“ Mes-
“ sieurs,” he exclaimed, “ les fausses esperances ne sont
“ pas une monnoie, que j’ai dans mon tiroir :—dans la
“ France vous ne retournerez jamais.”—“ Quoi donc,”
cried one of the audience, “ *ces coquins !* ”—“ Coquins ! ”
said Mr. Burke, “ ils sont coquins ; mais ils sont les co-

“quins les plus terribles que le monde a connu !” “It is most strange,”—he then said in the English language,—“I fear I am the only person in France or England, who is aware of the extent of the danger with which we are threatened.”—“But,” said the Reminiscent, wishing to prolong the very interesting conversation, “the duke of Brunswick is to set all right.”—“The duke of Brunswick !” exclaimed Mr. Burke. “The duke of Brunswick to do any good ! A war of posts to subdue France !”—Another silence,—“Ce qui me désespère le plus,”—he then said,—“est que quand je plâne dans l’hémisphère politique je ne vois guères une tête ministérielle à la hauteur des circonstances.”

He once called Mr. Pitt, “the sublime of mediocrity.”

It may, however, be thought that, in recommending his own plan, Mr. Burke did not sufficiently attend to his own representations, of the selfish temporizing views of the continental powers,* on whose energetic and public-spirited co-operation, the success of it depended altogether ; it may therefore be lamented that the pacific system recommended by Mr. Fox was not adopted.

On this, the admirers of Mr. Fox will ever dwell : they will observe that it is highly probable, that if that gentleman’s peaceful system had been pursued, and France left to herself, the occupations of commerce and husbandry, and the pursuits of the arts and sciences,

* See Mr. Burke’s two Letters on a Regicide Peace,—(139, 156.) This publication is the best exposition and defence of Mr. Burke’s system on the war with France : the critique of them in the *Monthly Review* for November and December, 1796, attributed to sir James Mackintosh (*aut Erasmi aut Diaboli*),—is the ablest exposition and defence of the opposite system of Mr. Fox. A similar exposition and defence of Mr. Pitt’s system is expected from the bishop of Winchester.

would have continued as before ; the political effervescence would have subsided, the sober and well intentioned would have gained the ascendancy ; the king of France would have preserved his power, with some salutary modifications ; no war would have ensued ; France would have continued subject to her national debt and her tithes,—and Great Britain would have discharged the whole or a great part of her financial burden, and been, at this moment, the first in rank and power among the European states. But the war made France a nation of armed men, with all the energy and resources, which, in a time of anarchy and revolution, a foreign war always gives to the triumphant party, by putting them into possession of the absolute sovereignty, the power, the armies, the offices, and the treasure of the kingdom. Besides, continue the admirers of Mr. Fox,—ought not Mr. Pitt to have felt how seldom coalitions have succeeded ? Ought he not to have foreseen that, from the known aversion which the Austrians and Prussians had for each other, and the hatred which all the powers proposed to be coalesced bore to the English, there were more than sufficient seeds of discord in the original construction of the coalition to work its ruin ?—But, if the war was wise, was it, they ask, wisely conducted ?—To say nothing of the Walcheren, the Quiberon, and the other disastrous expeditions, so disgraceful to the councils of Great Britain.—Was not the general plan of the war misconceived ? Was it not evidently such as must lead every Frenchman to believe that the coalesced powers had selfish views, and that the dismemberment, not the restoration of the monarchy, was their real aim ?

On these topics the friends of Mr. Fox will ever love to dwell. They will also notice his unvarying exertions

in favour of civil and religious liberty, and remark that, though from year to year, Mr. Pitt advocated, with the most splendid eloquence, the abolition of the slave trade, applying both to its justice and its policy the strongest expressions of abhorrence and reprobation, he yet permitted his cabinet, though uniformly subservient to him on every other occasion, to vote for its continuance ; but that Mr. Fox was scarcely seated in office, when the glorious and salutary measure was instantaneously carried, as it were by acclamation.

On this, however, and even on the failure of Mr. Pitt's war projects, his advocates will not be without some plausible topics of defence. On the unavailing effusions of Mr. Pitt's eloquence for the abolition of the slave trade, compared with the instantaneous abolition of it by Mr. Fox's administration, they will notice the difference between their cabinets, Mr. Pitt's strenuously resisting, Mr. Fox's as strenuously co-operating with the minister. On the failure of Mr. Pitt's war project, they will suggest that it does not follow that, because the experiment failed, it should not have been tried : that, because Mr. Fox's plans were the reverse of Mr. Pitt's, they were therefore wise, or would have succeeded ; or that, because Mr. Pitt's measures were not successful in all their parts, their general result was not highly beneficial to his country : They engaged us, it will be admitted, in a ruinous expenditure, and ended in a protentious territorial aggrandizement of France ; but it will be asked, if they did not save our constitution, crush the commercial and colonial strength of our rival, destroy all the navies of Europe, secure to England the empire of the sea, and leave her, at the end of the contest, in a state of power, influence, and fame, unenjoyed by her in any former

period :—Add to this, Mr. Pitt's advocates will also say, that the war with France was not volunteered by Mr. Pitt ; it was forced upon him : this, they will contend, is demonstrated by Dr. Marsh, in his excellent "*History of the politics of Great Britain and France, from the time of the Conference at Pilnitz, till the declaration of war against Great Britain.*"

Thus the argument seems to have stood 'at the close of the war. A state of things wholly new and unforeseen has followed, and Great Britain is now in a condition of public and private exhaustion and distress, unequalled in the annals of her history. To what is it owing ? Is it attributable to Mr. Pitt or his war ?—If not what is its true cause ? and, (a much more useful inquiry,) what is its remedy ? It would be the extreme of presumption in the Reminiscent to pretend to answer any of these questions. The last is the most important ;—and, unfortunately, the solution of it appears to baffle the wisest men.

Unfortunately, however, for Great Britain, another state of things *may* arise which *may* be still more unpromising to her than the present. The exhaustion and distress, which she now experiences, are felt, in a high degree at least, by every European nation. Should they as universally subside, and agriculture and commerce as universally revive, will the consequence verify the prediction of Napoleon,* "*that such then must be the pressure on England from her immense national debt, and such the necessary decrease of her trade, from the stimulus given to the commerce of other continental nations, that her descent into the rank of secondary states must be near at hand.*"

* Ante, p. 144.

It was the good fortune of the Reminiscent to have the honour of spending a day tête-à-tête with Mr. Fox at St. Ann's Hill. The Reminiscent mentioned, what certainly was of no consequence, that "he had never read Adam Smith's celebrated work on the Wealth of Nations." "To tell you the truth," said Mr. Fox, "nor I either. There is something in all these subjects, which passes my comprehension; something so wide,—that I could never embrace them myself, or find any one who did."

"Peace to the strepent horn!"

SHENSTONE.

Is it not, at this time, lawful to express a wish, that all discussions, which have a tendency to degrade either of these great men, should now be closed? that their failings should remain interred with their bones, and the good only of each remembered after him? The talents and integrity of both are unimpeached; both loved their country, and both rendered her essential services; both in private life, were most amiable; there was nothing sordid in their hostility: the powers which they displayed in it did honour to England: and she has an interest in the brightness and permanence of their reputation. To establish the fame of either, it is not necessary to detract from that of the other. As each would be the first, England could not admit both into her government. Nothing now remains to either but his fame,—and England is sufficiently large to hold the fame of both.

A view of Mr. Pitt's political life, written by the pen of a friend, and with great ability, may be seen in the critique of "*Mr. Gifford's Life of Pitt*," inserted in the "*Quarterly Review*," for the month of August, 1810.—While the transactions, in which a great political character has been engaged, are yet recent; this is perhaps the

best mode in which a view of his public life can be communicated : the events themselves are generally known ; all therefore to be done is to clear up a few doubtful facts, and to lead the reader to form a proper judgment on the merits of the principal performer. This is done in a masterly manner, in the critique to which we have referred. Has Mr. Fox,—has Mr. Burke,—no surviving friend, who will do the same justice to his memory ?

Those who have perused the excellent critique of Mr. Burke's "Letters on a Regicide Peace," in the Monthly Review, which we have mentioned in a former note, must wish for a similar discussion of that great man's character and writings from the same pen.

XII. 6.

The Holy Alliance.

Who now pretends to foresee the consequences likely to result from this extraordinary event ?

1. *During the Assyrian, Persian, Macedonian, and Roman empires*, the grand political division of the world was, into the states within their sway, and the states beyond it. At the end of the fifth century of the Christian era, the greater part of Europe was Roman.

2. After the death of Trajan, the Romans ceased to be conquerors ; the barbarians of the north and northeast soon began to invade their territories on every side, and to erect on their ruins a multitude of principalities, independent on each other, but united by the profession of a common religion, by a common regard for its interests, and by a common submission, in religious concerns, to the pope, as their common head.*

* "The perpetual correspondence of the Latin clergy, the frequent pilgrimages to Rome and Jerusalem, and the growing authority of

3. By degrees, Austria, France, Spain, and England, became the European powers of the first order. The union of the Imperial and Spanish crowns on the head of Charles the fifth, produced confederacies against him. The French monarch was always at their head; and Europe thus became divided into two new parties, the *Austrian* and the *French*.

4. In the mean time, the arms of Mahomet and his successors divided a large proportion of the world into the worshippers of Christ, and the believers in the Koran.*

the popes, cemented the union of the Christian republics, and gradually produced the similar and common jurisprudence, which has distinguished from the rest of mankind, the independent and even hostile nations of modern Europe." Gibb. Hist. of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, ch. xxxvii.

* Mahometanism has been carried on the north to the point, where the Ouralian and Altai mountains meet: thence, it may be traced over little Bucharria to the southernmost point of Hindustan; and thence, in a south-easterly direction, to Goram, a small island between Ceram and Papua, or New Guinea, in which there are not fewer than eight mosques. It is also spread over every country from the Hellespont to the Indus, and from the Arabian to the Persian Gulf; it is professed on each side of the Nile; and, in the west of Africa, the line between the Mahometans and Pagans, extends, according to Mr. Parke, to St. Joseph, or Galam (lat. 14. 20.): thence in a waving direction, it proceeds to and includes Tombuctoo. In the east of Africa, it is professed in part of Madagascar and the opposite shores.

The Mahometans have lost Spain; and, in the north, their progress has been checked by the extension of Christianity into Siberia: but in middle and lower Asia, it has always been gaining ground; so that, speaking generally, from the commencement of the Hegira to the present time, Mahometanism has always been on the increase. But extensive as is the aggregate of the territories thus occupied by the followers of Mahomet, it is greatly exceeded by those occupied by the followers of Budha; they fill Tartary, China, and many of the Maylayn islands.

5. The reformation arrived : and then, according to Schiller,*—"The whole of Europe became divided into "a Catholic and a Protestant party. The interests of the "European states, which, till that time, had been national, ceased to be such ; and the interests of religion "formed a bond of union, among subjects of different "governments, who, till this time, had been unknown to "each other. A sentiment more powerful in the heart "of man than even the love of his country, rendered him "capable of perceptions and feelings which reached beyond its limits : the French Calvinist found himself "more in contact with a Calvinist in England, Germany, "Holland, or Geneva, than with a Catholic in his own "country." This effected a new political division of Europe : France, siding with the separatists from the church of Rome, and introducing to the aid of their common cause, the Ottoman power,† became the real head of one party ; Austria was the head of the other. But when, upon the abdication of Charles the fifth, his German were divided from his Spanish states, and the civil

* *Histoire de la Guerre de trente ans*,—cited by M. de Bonald, in his interesting essay, "*De l'Unité Religieuse dans l'Europe*;" inserted in the *Ambigu of Peltier*, No. cxxv.—This journal contains several other essays of Bonald, on subjects of literature and history, which show great learning, an excellent taste, and profound observation. See also "*Les véritables Auteurs de la Révolution de France de 1789*," 8vo. Neufchatel, 1797.

† It may be said with truth, that, without the direct or indirect aid given by France to the Protestants and the Ottoman powers, there would not have been a Protestant state on the north of the Rhine or the Maine, or a Mahometan settlement on the North of the Danube.

That the views of the Protestant party in the reign of queen Mary were considerably furthered by French intrigue, is abundantly shown by Dr. Lingard, in the part of his excellent history, which relates to the reign of that much calumniated princess.

wars of France weakened her connexions with the Protestant powers and the Porte, *Elizabeth of England*, and *Philip the second of Spain*, became the conspicuous characters.—Elizabeth, with the United Provinces at her disposal, was the centre of the Protestant system ; Philip, with the aid of Bavaria, was the centre of the Catholic ; and all the temporal, and (which was of much greater consequence) all the spiritual power of Rome, co-operated with the Spaniards, and placed the pope in the van of the Catholic array. Then, if Schiller's remarks be just, the Protestants in every country subject to the Spanish sway, would be partisans of Elizabeth, and every Catholic in the territories subject to her dominion or control, would be favourable to the designs of Philip and the pope.

6. Thus matters remained till the *treaty of Westphalia* : this considerably lessened the influence of religion on politics, and, from this time, in consequence of the general dissemination of the new philosophy, that influence rapidly declined.

7. *The French revolution* followed and changed the face of Europe ; less, however, by the new demarcations of territory, though these were great, than by the introduction of new principles into them all, and the general exhaustion of Europe, which the war occasioned.*

* "Nations," says Burke, in his celebrated work on the French revolution, "are wandering deeper and deeper into an ocean of boundless debt. Public debts, which, at first, were a security to governments, are likely, in their excess, to become the means of their subversion. If governments provide for these debts by heavy impositions, they perish by becoming odious to the people. If they do not provide for them, they will be undone by the efforts of the most dangerous of all parties. I mean an extensive, discontented monied interest, injured and not destroyed." An alarming dilemma!

The new principles thus introduced are considered by the advocates for the ancient order of things as destructive of legitimate government, and on all occasions are, on this account, branded by them with the opprobrious appellation of illegitimacy.

8. In every country of Europe this *legitimacy and illegitimacy* have their respective advocates. All the sovereigns of Europe, all their ministers, all their dependants, and, generally speaking, all orderly men, are legitimates; a great proportion of the middle and lower population favour illegitimacy: a bond of union subsists in every country between the partisans of each, and the governments of Austria and Russia are confessedly the heads of the former:—Thus the European world is again divided: the legitimates have formed what is termed the *Holy Alliance*, and the illegitimates are actively employed in raising a contre-confederacy.

Both parties have appealed to the people: the legitimates remark, that the passage from one form of government to another most commonly leads the nation into long years of public and private misery; seldom generates public or private happiness; seldom produces substantial melioration, and two frequently terminates in the worst of all results, a military despotism: they infer from this, that it is much better to suffer the existing evil in patience, and trust its cure to the salutary and certain, and not slow, though not rapid, operation of time, than provoke, by precipitancy, still greater calamity. The illegitimates dwell on what they term the enormity of the acknowledged abuses of government, their mischievous consequences to the state, and their oppressive effects on a large proportion of society. These, they pronounce to be both so extensive and disastrous, that,

even with due deference to the cool calculations of prudence, much ought to be hazarded, even for a probable chance of a better order of things.*

Wise men perceive that the speculations of each party carry its adherents to extremes; they feel, that the sway of opinion advances rapidly, and will walk over all who will not walk with her; that solemn words and solemn forms having lost their power, a co-operation with opinion is necessary; and that the only co-operation which will render her march salutary, is the adoption of those real and complete reforms, which arguments unanswerable at the tribunal of cool, deliberate, and well-instructed reason, demonstrate to be absolutely necessary.

The adoption of these, they therefore recommend: the recommendation is neither wholly accepted nor wholly rejected; so that, on the grand question of reform, almost every state of Europe is, at this moment, in a state of oscillation unexampled in history.

What is to be the result?—"A man," to use an expression of Mr. Fox in the admirable opening of the in-

* It is not a little remarkable, that the greatest blow which legitimacy ever received was given her by one, from whom it once might have been least expected,—the late pope,—when he pronounced it to be lawful for the actual possessors of the property confiscated by the revolutionary governments of France, to retain it, in opposition to the crying claims of the lawful owners. The Reminiscent is convinced that the quiet of the world required this measure, so that it was fully justified by its necessity; but it was the triumph of illegitimacy over legitimacy, or, in other words, the triumph of possession over right.

Does not what is now acting in France call to memory the politics of the exclusionists in the reign of Charles II. and lead us to prognosticate that, on the demise of the present monarch, a revolution will take place in France similar to that which deprived Charles' immediate successor of his throne?

troductory chapter of his history,—“must have great confidence in his own sagacity to venture to predict the consequence of an event at once new and momentous.” Is there not, however, evident reason to fear, that if the Holy Alliance do not dissolve in its own weakness, the conflict will be terrible?—Tyranny will perhaps be its immediate effect: but may it not be hoped that it will end in a considerable extension of rational liberty?

The recent interference of the Holy Alliance in the concerns of Spain has been its first operation, and has been crowned with, at least, momentary success. It was owing, in a great measure, to the conduct of the *liberales*, which, in many instances, was unjustifiable: but may it not be said, that, if Ferdinand had been honest, and the despots had not interfered, the excesses of the *liberales* would not have been so great; wise and moderate councils would have prevailed, and a new and salutary order of things would have been established?

It is probable, that the Holy Alliance will lead to events of the greatest magnitude. Let us hope that the wisdom, the energy, and the high spirit of true liberty, which distinguish Great Britain, will save her and the world from the chains, with which the Holy Alliance threatens them; that some English Thucydides will observe and record the contest, and have those actions and that close to relate, which every Briton, and the friends of liberty in every part of the world, will read with exultation.

A classical reader, who contemplates the present conflict between the Greeks and the Turks, must find it difficult not to wish success to the former,—the descendants of his early acquaintance,—over their ignorant and brutal oppressors.—The subject brings to the recollection

tion of the Reminiscent a letter written by Fénelon, in his dreams of youth : the reader will probably be pleased both with the pious and the classical aspiration of the young evangelist.

“ Several trifling accidents have delayed, till this moment, my return to Paris ; but now, at last, I set off, and I almost fly. With this voyage in my thoughts, I have a greater voyage in imagination. All Greece opens herself to me ; the sultan retires in a fright ; the Peloponnesus already begins to breathe in freedom. Again will the church of Corinth flourish ; again will she hear the voice of her apostle. I feel myself transported into these delightful regions ; and, while I am collecting the precious monument of antiquity, I seem to inhale her true spirit. I search for the Areopagus, where St. Paul preached the unknown God to the wise of the world. But the profane, after the sacred, comes for its turn, and I do not disdain to enter the Pyreum, where Socrates unfolded the plan of his republic. I ascend the double summit of Parnassus ; I pluck the laurels of Delphos ; I breathe the sweets of Tempé.

“ When shall the blood of the Turks lie mingled with the blood of the Persians, on the plains of Marathon, and leave Greece to religion, to philosophy, and to the fine arts, which regard her as their natural soil ?

“ ————— Arva beata,
Petamus Arva, divites et insulas !

“ O island ! consecrated by the heavenly visions of the beloved disciple ; never shall I forget thee ! On your soil, I will kiss the footsteps of the evangelist, and fancy I behold the heavens open. Then shall I be seized with indignation against the false prophet, who

" attempted to unfold the oracles of the true prophet;
 " and to return thanks to God, who did not destroy his
 " church, as he destroyed Babylon ; but chained up the
 " dragon, and crowned his church with victory. The
 " schism disappears ;—the east and west are re-united ;
 " —and Asia, after a long night, sees the day return to
 " her. The land consecrated by the cross of Christ,
 " and watered by his blood, is delivered from those who
 " profaned her, and is invested with new glories.—
 " Finally, the children of Abraham, scattered over the
 " earth, and more numerous than the stars of the hea-
 " vens, are collected from the four winds, and come in
 " crowds to adore the Christ, whose side they pierced
 " on the cross.

" This is sufficient : you will rejoice to hear this is the
 " last of my letters ; and the last of my enthusiastic flights,
 " with which you will be importuned.

" FR. DE FENELON."

When the negotiations of Lisle seemed to promise
 peace, a friend of the Reminiscent offered to Mr. Burke
 his congratulations upon this circumstance, as the probable
 termination of the revolution.—" The termination of the
 " révolution ! to be sure ! " exclaimed Mr. Burke : " The
 " revolution over ! Why, sir, it is not begun ! As yet,
 " you have only heard the first music ; you'll see the ac-
 " tors presently ; but neither you nor I shall see the close
 " of the drama."

The late Mrs. Boscawen asked lord Mansfield, " when
 " he thought the French revolution would end ?"—
 " Madam," he replied, " I don't know that it has yet
 " begun ; it is an event without precedent, and therefore
 " without prognostic."

XII. 7.

Lord Thurlow.

WE return to a view of the parliamentary oratory of our times.

Mr. Hume's *Essay on Eloquence* has been deservedly praised : but it appears to contain some passages which are open to observation.

He mentions that "there were about half a dozen "speakers in the two houses, who, in the judgment of "the public, had very near the same pitch of eloquence ; "and that no man pretended to give any one the preference above the rest." This might be true when Mr. Hume wrote ; but certainly has never been the case in our time. Beside Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox, we had about a dozen speakers, as lord Mansfield, lord Camden, lord Thurlow, lord Rosslyn, lord Ashburton, and lord Littleton, in the house of lords ; and Mr. Dundas, colonel Barré, governor Johnson, Mr. Grey, Mr. Windham, Mr. Whitbread, and Mr. Sheridan, in the house of commons : all were eminent and distinguished speakers,—but no one thought of comparing any with Mr. Pitt or Mr. Fox. Those great rivals were allowed, by the universal voice of the British public, a splendid pre-eminence.

Perhaps the speakers next in eminence to these, were lord Thurlow, Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Dundas, afterward created lord Melville, and Mr. Grattan.

At times, *lord Thurlow* was superlatively great. It was the good fortune of the Reminiscent, to hear his celebrated reply to the duke of Grafton, during the inquiry into lord Sandwich's administration of Greenwich hospital. His grace's action and delivery, when

he addressed the house, were singularly dignified and graceful; but his matter was not equal to his manner. He reproached lord Thurlow with his plebeian extraction, and his recent admission into the peerage.—Particular circumstances caused lord Thurlow's reply to make a deep impression on the Reminiscent. His lordship had spoken too often, and began to be heard with a civil but visible impatience. Under these circumstances, he was attacked in the manner we have mentioned. He rose from the woolsack, and advanced slowly to the place, from which the chancellor generally addresses the house; then, fixing on the duke the look of Jove, when he has grasped the thunder;—"I am amazed," he said, in a level tone of voice, "at the attack which the noble duke has made on me. Yes, my lords," considerably raising his voice, "I am amazed at his grace's speech. The noble duke cannot look before him, behind him, or on either side of him, without seeing some noble peer, who owes his seat in this house to his successful exertions, in the profession to which I belong. Does he not feel that it is as honourable to owe it to these, as to being the accident of an accident?—To all these noble lords, the language of the noble duke is as applicable and as insulting as it is to myself. But I don't fear to meet it single and alone. No one venerates the peerage more than I do,—but, my lords, I must say that the peerage solicited me,—not I the peerage. Nay more,—I can say and will say, that as a peer of parliament,—as speaker of this right honourable house, as keeper of the great seal,—as guardian of his majesty's conscience,—as lord high chancellor of England,—nay, even in that character alone, in which the noble duke would think it an affront

"to be considered,—but which character none can deny
 "me,—as a MAN, I am at this moment as respectable ;—
 "I beg leave to add,—I am, at this time, as much respected, as the proudest peer I now look down upon."
 The effect of this speech, both within the walls of parliament and out of them, was prodigious. It gave lord Thurlow an ascendancy in the house, which no chancellor had ever possessed ; it invested him, in public opinion, with a character of independence and honour ; and this, although he was ever on the unpopular side of politics, made him always popular with the people.*

On many other occasions, his lordship appeared to advantage ; but, speaking generally, it was only on great occasions that he signalized himself. He was a kind of a guarda costa vessel, which cannot meet every turning and winding of a frigate that assails her ; but, when the opportunity offers, pours a broadside which seldom fails of sinking the assailant.

His lordship, however, possessed a weapon which he often brought into action with great skill and effect. He would appear to be ignorant upon the subject in debate, and, with affected respect, but visible derision, to seek for information upon it, pointing out with a kind of dry, solemn humour, contradictions and absurdities, which he professed his own inability to explain, and calling on his adversaries for their explanation. It was a kind of masked battery, of the most searching questions and distressing observations ; it often discomfited his adversary, and seldom failed to force him into a very em-

* It was often mentioned, that, at the council board, he showed an equal mixture of waywardness and timidity. Mr. Pitt is reported to have said of him, "that he proposed nothing, objected to every thing, and acquiesced in any thing."

barrassing position of defence : it was the more effective, as, while he was playing it off, his lordship showed he had the command of much more formidable artillery.

It is remarkable that, though both lord Mansfield and lord Thurlow spoke most slowly and deliberately, yet their periods were strangely confused, and often ungrammatical ; while *lord Ashburton*, whose volubility was marvellous, and was the despair of short-hand writers, never offended against grammar : his periods, though often quaint and apparently entangled in endless parentheses, were uncommonly neat and perspicuous ; and, what is of so much consequence to an orator, gave him an appearance of speaking without preparation, and from the feelings of the moment. Something of this was observable in Mr. Pitt's speeches ; his long amplifications, with his savings and reserves, frequently made his hearers think him involved in an inextricable labyrinth ; but light was sure to break in, to irradiate all he had said, and to lead to the brightest close. There never was a moment in which Mr. Fox was, V either intentionally or unintentionally, obscure. This certainly speaks a volume in his praise.

XII. 8.

Mr. Sheridan—Mr. Dundas.

STRANGE as it may appear, it nevertheless is true, that common sense and dignity were possessed by *Mr. Sheridan* in an extraordinary degree ; but they were so counteracted by habitual procrastination and irregularity,* that he was scarcely known to possess them. He had

* On the failings of eminent men, it is painful to dwell : the best reflection, which they suggest, seems to be that, with which father Bourdaloue opened the part of his funeral oration on the Grand Condé, which turned on the failings of his hero. "There is not,"

very little information ;—had even little classical learning ;—but the powers of his mind were very great. He had a happy vein of ridicule,—he could, however, rise to the serious and the severe :—and then his style of speaking was magnificent ; but even in his happiest effusions, he had too much prettiness.

One of the greatest tributes ever paid to eloquence, Mr. Sheridan received from Mr. Pitt, when, after Mr. Sheridan had, in opposition to him, advocated the prosecution of Mr. Hastings, Mr. Pitt moved an adjournment, that “ the house might have time to recover from the **“ overpowering effect of Mr. Sheridan’s oratory.”**

Mr. Sheridan objected to the coalition, to Mr. Fox’s secession from parliament, to his strong language in favour of the French revolution, and predicted, as is said, the disastrous consequences of his India bill ; still, he uniformly adhered to Mr. Fox, and supported his politics. He required great preparation for the display of his ta-

said the eloquent preacher, “ a luminary in the heavens, which does not sometimes suffer an eclipse : and the sun, which is the most splendid of them, suffers the greatest and most remarkable ; two circumstances in these particularly deserve our consideration ; one, that, in these eclipses, the sun suffers no substantial loss of light, and preserves his regular course ; the other, that, during the time of the eclipse, the universe contemplates it with most interest, and watches its variations with most attention. The prince, whom we lament, had his eclipses ; it would be idle to attempt concealing them ; they were as visible as his glory : but he never lost the principle of rectitude which ruled his heart. That preserved him in his wanderings, and restored him to religion and loyalty : thus the eclipse was temporary, and the golden flood remained unimpaired.” Those, who are most disposed to be severe on these eminent characters, should reflect on this circumstance. After a little self-examination, they will generally find that, if they themselves are not equally exposed to public censure, it is owing less to the undeviating rectitude of their conduct, than to the happy obscurity of their destinies.

lents: hence he was not a debater,—one, who attacks and defends on every occasion that calls him forth. It is observable that, of this kind of oratory, antiquity has left us no specimen; and that, in modern Europe, it has not existed out of England. Lord North, Mr. Pitt, and Mr. Fox, excelled in it; the first, perhaps, surpassed the two others in this useful, it may, perhaps, be called,—*most* useful species of oratory. But, though Mr. Sheridan was no debater, he was sometimes most felicitous in an epigrammatic reply.

Mr. Dundas had not those occasional displays, which raised Mr. Sheridan so high in public estimation;—but he went out in all weathers, was always able, and often triumphant. His Scottish accent was very strong, and, on the whole, rather served than injured his oratory.

XII. 9.

Mr. Grattan.

NATURE denied to *Mr. Grattan* many of the most important qualifications of an orator, and his taste was not that of Cicero; but she gave him genius and industry. The consequence was, that he was generally thought to be the first of the second class of orators in our time. His speech in 1810, in favour of Catholic emancipation, may be considered as a complete specimen of his peculiar,—very peculiar style of oratory. It presents, as the writer has observed on another occasion, an union of eloquence, imagery, and philosophy, which is rarely found in any composition. Nothing can show more strongly than a comparison between Mr. Grattan and his imitators, the vast space which is ever discernible between a man of real genius, philosophy, and business, and a mere artist in language.

At the end of May, 1820, Mr. Grattan came, *for the last time*, to London:—On the first day of the following June, the writer of these pages called upon him; and, being informed that he was extremely ill, was retiring, without having seen him; but Mr. Grattan, having heard that he was in the house, sent for him. It was evident that he touched the moment of his dissolution:—but the ethereal vigour of his mind was unsubdued, and his zeal for the Catholic cause unabated. He pressed the writer by the hand:—"It is," he said, "all over!—Yes,—all over:—but I will die in the cause. I mean to be carried to the house of commons to-morrow:—to beg leave of the speaker to take the oaths sitting,—and then, to move two resolutions." These he mentioned to the writer; but spoke so indistinctly, that the writer could only perceive generally, that they were substantially the same as the clauses which he had prefixed to the bill, which, in 1812, he brought into parliament for the relief of the Catholics. He again pressed the writer by the hand, repeated the intention of being carried to the house, and desired the writer to attend him to it:—But—he died in the ensuing night!

He was buried in Westminster abbey:—his funeral was most honourably attended: the charity boys of all the Catholic schools in London, were present, and behaved with a seriousness which affected every beholder.

As a public orator, Mr. Grattan was equalled by very few;—in public or private virtue, he was surpassed by none. He reflected honour on the country which gave him birth: in the parliament of Ireland he had but one rival: the parliament of the United Empire felt that he added to its lustre, and admired, respected, and loved him.

XIII.

MISCELLANEOUS REFLECTIONS ON PARLIAMENTARY
ORATORY.

1. MR. HUME, speaks "*of the indifference of the public to public oratory.*" Since the writer has known parliament, the case has been very different. The galleries of the house of commons have always been overfilled at an early hour. On great occasions, all the seats have been occupied five, six, or seven hours before the commencement of the debate. The rush to obtain places at the first commemoration of Handel, when all London seemed to pour into Westminster Abbey, was not equal to the rush into Westminster Hall, on the day in which Mr. Sheridan brought his charges against Mr. Hastings.

2. Mr. Hume "*compares the sublimity of ancient eloquence with the temper of modern.*" He cites the famous oath of Demosthenes,—in which he swears by the manes of those who fell at Marathon and Plataeæ; and the tragical terms in which Cicero describes the crucifixion of a Roman citizen by the order of Verres.

With respect to the passage in Demosthenes, is it not quite certain, that it would be both endured and applauded in the house of commons? Toward the close of the American war, lord North was exactly in the situation in which Demosthenes found himself, after the defeat of the Athenians, at Cheronæa, and might have used for his defence an oath not less bold than that of the Grecian orator. Have there not been moments, when Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox might, in some parts of their speeches, have hazarded, with success, still bolder figures, still bolder appeals to the imagination, still bolder addresses to the passions of their hearers? A want of these ap-

peals, of these bold figures and apostrophes, may be thought to give the speeches of the Greek and Roman orators a superiority over those of Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox : but surely those daring flights of oratory would be well received by the house, and attended with the greatest effect.

As to the passage from Cicero to which Mr. Hume refers, does it not admit of doubt, whether it be not rather Asiatic than Attic?—Is it superior,—is it even equal to Mr. Burke's description of the irruption of Hyder Ali into the Carnatic ?*

“ When at length Hyder Ali found that he had to do with men who either would sign no convention, or whom no treaty, and no signature could bind, and who were the determined enemies of human intercourse itself, he decreed to make the country possessed by these incorrigible and predestinated criminals a memorable example to mankind. He resolved, in the gloomy recesses of a mind capacious of such things, to leave the whole Carnatic an everlasting monument of vengeance ; and to put perpetual desolation as a barrier between him and those against whom the faith which holds the moral elements of the world together was no protection. He became at length so confident of his force, so collected in his might, that he made no secret whatsoever of his dreadful resolution. Having terminated his disputes with every enemy, and every rival, who buried their mutual animosities in their common detestation against the creditors of the nabob of Arcot, he drew from every quarter, whatever a savage ferocity could add to his new rudiments in the arts of destruction ; and compounding all the materials of fury, havoc, and desolation, into one black cloud, he hung for a while on the declivities of the mountains. Whilst the authors of all these evils were idly and stupidly gazing on this menacing meteor, which blackened all their horizon, it suddenly burst, and poured down the whole of its contents upon the plains of the Carnatic. Then ensued a scene of wo, the like of which no eye

* The Reminiscent thinks Mr. Burke's description of the fate of the exiles, in his *Letters on a Regicide Peace*, a still finer passage ; but it is too long for insertion.

had seen, no heart conceived, and which no tongue can adequately tell. All the horrors of war before known or heard of, were mercy to that new havoc. A storm of universal fire blasted every field, consumed every house; destroyed every temple. The miserable inhabitants flying from their flaming villages, in part were slaughtered; others, without regard to sex, to age, to the respect of rank, or sacredness of function; fathers torn from children, husbands from wives, enveloped in a whirlwind of cavalry, and amidst the goading spears of drivers, and the trampling of pursuing horses, were swept into captivity, in an unknown and hostile land. Those, who were able to evade this tempest, fled to the walled cities. But escaping from fire, sword, and exile, they fell into the jaws of famine.

“For eighteen months, without intermission, this destruction raged from the gates of Madras to the gates of Tanjore; and so completely did these masters in their art, Hyder Ali and his more ferocious son, absolve themselves of their impious vow, that when the British armies traversed, as they did, the Carnatic for hundreds of miles in all directions, through the whole line of their march, they did not see one man, not one woman, not one child, not one four-footed beast of any description whatever. One dead uniform silence reigned over the whole region.”*

3. Mr. Hume mentions in high terms, “*the correct taste of an Athenian audience;*” it seems to have deserved this praise: the Roman audience was its inferior. Many among the senators were elegant, enlightened, and well informed; but taking into consideration the single article of the diffusion of knowledge, through the medium of the daily and monthly presses, it is evident that the number of these could bear no proportion to the number of such men in the parliament of England:—and that the English audience is, if the expression may be used, infinitely superior to the Roman. The proportion in the general

* The reader may compare the passage, transcribed in the text, with Mr. Gibbon’s account of the devastation of the provinces of the Danube by the Goths, after their retreat from Hadrianople. (Hist. ch. xxvii.) The superiority of Mr. Burke is very remarkable.

body of the Roman people, of the well-instructed, to the rude and absolutely uncultivated, was certainly very small. What must one think of an audience for whom such a laboured period as the "*est enim hæc non scripta sed nata lex*," was necessary, to convince them that homicide in self-defence is justifiable?

The British house of commons is perhaps the best audience ever assembled for a fair trial of eloquence. It possesses, far beyond any audience ancient or modern, a surprising union of great general information, with the feelings of a popular assembly; great allowance to high birth; some to enormous wealth; much benignity, much patience, when it is not too much tried; a just, a fine, and a quick sense of propriety;* fastidious, it is true, but still assigning to every one his just measure, and something beyond his just measure of merit. It is idle to say that

* Louis the eighteenth observed to a friend of the Reminiscent that "he had travelled much, but had never met with a people that had the taste of John Bull."

In the justness of this observation an Englishman will readily acquiesce: he may confidently ask, if the truth of it do not incontestably appear in the behaviour of the English to one another, at those festive meetings, where all ranks meet, and equality is the order of the day. There the truest nature of this momentary level is so exquisitely felt, that no rank outsteps the just, but almost imperceptible line, which good sense and propriety have drawn for the occasion.

One of the most humorous narratives, which the Reminiscent has heard, was an account given by the late duke de Bouillon, who, toward the year 1780, resided long in this country, of an attempt which he made under the ancien régime, to establish a beef-steak club at Paris; the bows and simpers of the aristocrats, the giggling and gesticulations of the musical guests, and the gabble of all:—"Enfin," said the duke, "je demande une chanson:—j'attends la voix étouffante de M. Bannister;—voilà un homme qui crie,—*Amour!—Amour!*—je ne pouvais plus! je bouche les oreilles, et je m'esquive."

a single vote is seldom gained by a speech in the house of commons;—no speech has been made, in the Reminiscent's memory, which was not attended with its due proportion of effect. Mr. Peel's speech in 1817, against Catholic emancipation, did not, perhaps, gain to ministers a single vote,—but no reply being then made to it, the house adjourned with an impression, that his argument against Catholic emancipation was very strong, and had not been answered. A greater effect it could not have produced. Compared with it, a division of ten more votes in favour of the minister would have been trifling.—No one admired this speech, or lamented its effects more than the Reminiscent.

But,—in the course of the debates on the Catholic petition in the year 1821, the Reminiscent had the unspeakable pleasure of witnessing the complete immolation of this justly celebrated oration, by Mr. Plunkett. In a speech, which, by the universal testimony of all who heard it, has been seldom equalled, he raised the question of Catholic emancipation to an height far above the reach either of the arguments or the eloquence of its adversaries : there he placed it, and held the temple.*

In the debate on the Catholic question, in the following

* "*Templumque tenebit*," (Georgic III. 16.)

The Reminiscent here begs leave to suggest an observation which has frequently occurred to him, in perusing the beginning of the second book of the Georgics, and which leads him to suspect that some verses in it have been transposed.

In the three first lines of it, Virgil proposes his subject,

"*Hactenus Arvorum cultus, et sidera cœli;*

Nunc te Bacche canam, nec non silvestria tecum

Virgulta, et prolem tardè crescentis olivæ."

The five verses which follow these, contain an invocation to Bacchus, the founder, if he may be so called, of the poet's theme :—

session of parliament, their adversary again broke a lance both of skill and power against them : but Mr. Canning

"Huc pater, O Lenæ ! tuis hic omnia plena
Muneribus ; tibi pampineo gravidus auctumno
Floret ager, spumat plenis vindemia labris :
Huc pater, O Lenæ, veni ! nudataque musto
Tinge novo mecum dereptis crura cothurnis."

This brings the poet to the ninth verse.

There he enters upon his subject : and treats it in a simple and didactic style, till the thirty-ninth ; when, quite on a sudden, and without any connexion with what precedes or follows, he apostrophizes his great patron ;

"Tuque ades, inceptumque unâ decurre laborem,
O decus, O famæ merito pars maxima nostræ,
Mæcenas, pelagoque volans da vela patenti.
Non ego cuncta meis amplecti versibus opto ;
Non mihi si linguæ centum sint, oraque centum,
Ferreæ vox :—ades et primi lege littoris oram.
In manibus terræ ; non hic te carmine ficto
Atque per ambages et longa exorsa tenebo."

The poet then returns to the didactic strain.

Now,—is there not some reason to suppose, that the whole of this apostrophe is transposed ; and should have immediately followed the invocation of Bacchus, and inserted between the eighth and ninth verses ? Is not this more natural ? Do not the verses, as they now stand, interrupt the flow of the passage ?

This conjecture appears to be countenanced, in some measure, by the beginning of the first Georgic. There, immediately after the invocation of the deities, Cæsar is apostrophized, and the didactic strain is, for the first time, then assumed.

In the third Georgic also, the Reminiscent suspects that the text has been tampered with. He requests his readers to peruse from the forty-eighth to the one hundred and twenty-third verse, and then consider whether the three last verses in the passage,

"Quamvis sæpe fugâ versos ille egerit hostes,
Et patriam Epirum referat, fortisque Mycenas,
Neptunique ipsâ deducat origine gentem,"

was their champion,—he produced in their defence whatever a complete view of the subject, taste, genius, a kind and honourable mind, or an enlarged understanding could supply,—and triumphed.—While a British Catholic shall exist, Mr. Canning's name will be pronounced with gratitude: while classical eloquence shall be duly appreciated, his speech will be read with admiration.

XIV.

HORÆ BIBLICÆ.

THE Horæ Biblicæ was the next publication of the Reminiscent. It is divided into two parts; the first contains "*An historical and literary account of the original text, early versions, and printed editions of the Old and New Testament; or the sacred books of the Jews and Christians:*"—The second contains "*An historical and literary account of the Koran, Zend-Avesta, Kéngs, and Edda; or the works accounted sacred by the Mahometans, the Parsees, the Hindûs, the Chinese, and the Scandinavian nations.*"

be not spurious, or should not be interpolated between the sixty-second and sixty-third verses. The Reminiscent would ask, to what, if they are not thus interpolated, the word *Quamvis* can be referred?

The Reminiscent having communicated the preceding observations to Dr. Parr, a correspondence between them followed. With the doctor's permission, an extract from one of his letters is inserted in the Appendix:* and will, assuredly, be highly gratifying to the reader. It should be added, that, in the letter to which Dr. Parr's is an answer, the Reminiscent had intimated an opinion suggested by him in a former part of this publication, that Virgil's language had sometimes an extreme of polish.†

* APPENDIX, Note II.

† Ant. p. 15.

1. The composition of the first part of this publication afforded the Reminiscent great pleasure. Every thing on the subject of it was new, curious, interesting, and instructive.

It unfolded to him something of the mystery of collating manuscripts, and of the relative values of various readings ; it occasionally led him to many other new sources of literary amusement and information :—all tending to impress upon him a just notion of the text of the sacred writings. His occupations did not enable him to extend his inquiries far into the text of the Old Testament : and the little which he has said upon it, renders the work, in this respect, imperfect.

We owe the first of the Greek printed editions of the New Testament to *Erasmus* ; his edition was successively followed by those of *Robert Stephens*, *Beza*, and the *Elzevirs*. By the last of these, the text which had fluctuated in the preceding editions, acquired a consistency ; and, being generally followed in all the subsequent editions, this edition became the received exemplar of the text : it is remarkable that the editor of it is unknown.

In 1707, the celebrated edition of the *Reverend Dr. John Mill* was published at Oxford : he inserted in it all the collections of various readings, which had been published before his time ; and collated several manuscripts, not previously collated : the whole of the various readings collected by him is said, without any improbability, to amount to 30,000. His edition was followed by those of *Bengel* and *Wetstein*. The last is particularly important on account of the mass of rabbinical matter, which is contained in the annotations, and which serves to explain in numerous instances, the hebraizing expressions and allusions of the text : it is a kind of perpetual com-

mentary, replete with learning at once recondite and useful. In other respects, this edition has been superseded, in some measure, by the less bulky edition of *Griesbach*. From this, *Dr. White* has formed his *Diatessaron*, or four gospels in one; an excellent work, and likely to become the school-book of every place of education, Catholic or Protestant, in Europe, in which the Greek language is taught. *Mr. Thirlwall* has framed a translation of it, from the authorized version of the established church of England; it is to be wished that the English Catholics were furnished with a similar translation, from the version of the New Testament by *Dr. Challoner*. It should, however, be observed, that they already possess a publication, which resembles it; in the "*Four Gospels in One*," by *Mr. Austin*, the author of the celebrated work, intituled, "*Devotions in the Form of Ancient Officers*""*

Such an arrangement of the gospels presents a life of Christ;—but, when the language of any version, which adheres literally, or nearly literally, to the text, is adopted, it must contain many passages unintelligible to general readers. On this account, the *Reminiscent* has sometimes thought, that such a version, as would exhibit the sense of the text, in the genuine English idiom, would be an invaluable acquisition to the generality of English readers.

Dr. Clarke's Paraphrase of the New Testament is of this nature, and possesses great merit. It has been said, that he composed it when he was in his seventeenth year;—a wonderful instance, if true, of early endowment: it certainly was written before he veered to Arianism.†

* Noticed in the *Historical Memoirs*, vol. i. ch. 45. sec. 4.

† As whatever relates to this eminent English divine must be in-

Dr. Clarke's *paraphrase* is too prolix, and the phrases are often uncouth and low. *Father Berruyer's History of the New Testament* appears to the Reminiscent the best teresting, the Reminiscent thinks his readers will be pleased with his inserting the following anecdote.

In a more refined, and, if not in a more intelligible, at least in a more specious form, than it had appeared before, the doctrine of the primitive Socinians respecting Jesus Christ, was produced; toward the beginning of the last century, by Dr. Clarke. Tritheism, Arianism, and Sabellianism, are the rocks, upon one of which the adventurer in the trinitarian controversy, too often splits. Dr. Clarke professed to steer clear of the first, by denying the self-existence of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; of the second, by maintaining their derivation from, and similar essence with the Father;—and of the third, by maintaining the personality, and distinct agency, of each person of the Trinity.

In his work, intituled, "*The Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity*," Dr. Clarke propounded his system, with great clearness; and supported it with considerable strength and subtlety of argument. He met a powerful opponent in *Dr. Hawarden*, an eminent Catholic theologian. By the desire of queen Caroline, the consort of George the second, a conference was held by them, in the presence of her majesty, Mrs. Middleton, a Catholic lady, much in the confidence of the queen, and the celebrated Dr. Courayer.

When they met, Dr. Clarke, at some length, in very guarded terms, and with great apparent perspicuity, stated and explained his system. After he had finished speaking, a pause of some length ensued. Dr. Hawarden then said, that "he had listened with the greatest attention, to what had fallen from Dr. Clarke;" that, "he believed he apprehended, rightly, the whole of his system;"—that "the only reply, which he should make to it, would be asking a single question;"—that, "if the question were thought to contain any ambiguity, he wished it to be cleared of this, before any answer to it was returned; but desired, that, when the answer should be given, it should be expressed, either by the affirmative or negative monosyllable." To this proposition, Dr. Clarke assented. "Then," said Dr. Hawarden, "I ask—can God the Father annihilate the Son and the Holy Ghost?—answer me, yes, or no." Dr. Clarke continued for some

life of Christ, which has fallen in his way: but to this also, prolixity is justly objected: it has also been said to contain some theological errors; but the Reminiscent suspects that it requires a theological microscope of no ordinary power to discover them. The most popular life of Christ, in the Catholic portion of the continent, was that written by *father Bernardin de Montreuil, of the Society of Jesus*.

A view of the collations, which we have noticed, has confirmed, in the Reminiscent, a notion, which his long exercise of the professional duty of instruction has repeatedly suggested to him,—that persons of lively parts and elegant attainments, are at least as capable of dry, minute, and persevering application, as persons of a phlegmatic disposition. Mill, Wetstein, and Griesbach, evidently possessed taste, genius, polite literature, and great mental ardour. Wetstein was remarkably impetuous: yet what a length of unremitted toil in one of the most irksome of all literary employments is exhibited by the collations of all these editors!

The Reminiscent returns to the *Horæ Biblicæ*.—The first part of them,—that, which is employed on the New Testament,—was written by him, not to edify the public, but to instruct himself. Having sat down to a deliberate perusal of the New Testament, he found that passages,

time in deep thought; and then said, “It was a question which he had never considered.” Here the conference ended.

A searching question it certainly was; and the reader will readily perceive its bearings. If Dr. Clarke answered “yes,” he admitted the Son, and the Holy Ghost, to be mere creatures. If he answered “no,” he admitted each, individually, to be God. The Reminiscent has frequently heard the conference thus related, particularly by the late Mr. Alban Butler, and by Mr. Winstanley, the professor of philosophy, at the English college, at Douay.

which he did not understand, occurred incessantly ; and he soon perceived that their obscurity arose from the idiom of the language, in which they are expressed ; the words of it being Greek, the phraseology, Hebraic. To conquer this difficulty, he began the study of the Hebrew language, under the direction of the rabbi Uzielli ; but his proficiency was limited to a tolerable knowledge of its grammar, (including the curious system of the vowel points,) and to some knowledge of its Syntax. Slender and very slender as this acquisition certainly is, he found it of great use, and, with the assistance of the excellent *Lexicons of Schleusner and Biel*, the mass of rabbinical learning in *Wetstein's Annotations*, and the excellent observations of *Dr. Macknight* in the fourth preliminary essay prefixed by him to his "*Translation of the Apostolical Epistles*," he endeavoured to obtain a decent knowledge of the sacred text of the four gospels. He confined his study of the Old Testament to the Psalms : but could never conquer the obscurity of a multitude of passages in them. That they abound with strains of exquisite piety and excellent instruction, is most clear ; yet it appears doubtful to the Reminiscent whether they are a proper book of devotion for the generality of the uninformed laity.

The first part of the *Horæ Biblicæ* originally consisted of nothing more than minutes made by the Reminiscent for his private use, and without the slightest view to publication ; it afterward occurred to him, that they might, without much difficulty, be arranged in a degree of order. In this state, they were seen by some biblical scholars, and these encouraged the publication of the manuscript.

A private edition of it was distributed by him among

his friends, and by them, among several biblicists of distinction. It obtained for him many valuable communications from Dr. Winstanley, from the late Dr. Horsley, and from the Reminiscent's learned friend, who now adorns the see of Peterborough. Availing himself of these, he was enabled to present his work to the public in a less imperfect form. Such as it is, it has been favourably received, and is now in its fifth edition. It has been translated into the French language.

2. *The second part of the Horæ Biblicæ*, is a sequel to the first ; and gives a succinct view of the books accounted sacred by other eastern nations. It may be thought to possess some value, as it brings together many curious facts respecting the *Oriental Creeds*, which are not generally known, and which lie widely scattered : it is now in its fourth edition. The writer received considerable assistance, in the part relating to the Edda, from Mr. Pinkerton, and in the part respecting the Zend-Avesta, from sir William Ousley. Since the publication of it, much useful information respecting the sacred and profane literature of the Hindûs, has been communicated to the public, by Mr. Colebrook, Mr. Stracey, and other Hindûstane scholars : the writer apprehends that they have rather confirmed than impeached his humble pages.

It has sometimes occurred to him that a young gentleman of fortune, talents, and mental energy, could not employ them better, than by placing himself in Benâres, and thence making excursions over all the adjacent parts of central Asia, to discover the remains of its ancient arts, science, and literature. It is probable that so laudable a pursuit would be rewarded with the richest spoil. How very interesting is the discovery of the Indian algebra !—What reasonable hopes of farther discoveries does it not raise !

3. *Two tracts* are added to the second part of the *Horæ Biblicæ* :—One, *A Dissertation on a supposed general Council of Jews, held at Agéda in Germany, in 1650* :—the other, *An Historical Account of the Controversy respecting the 1 John, ch. 5. v. 7, —commonly called the verse of the Three Heavenly Witnesses*. The Reminiscent believes he has shown the fabulousness of the Council,—and given an impartial account of the controversy. The arguments against the authenticity of the verse are very strong ; but the admission of it into the confession of faith presented by the Catholic bishops to Hunneric, the Vandal king, is an argument of weight in its favour. The statement of it by the Reminiscent, was allowed by Mr. Porson, the late learned adversary of the verse, to deserve attention : he promised the writer to reply to it.

XV.

SUCCINCT HISTORY OF THE GEOGRAPHICAL AND POLITICAL REVOLUTIONS OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE.—FRENCH REVOLUTION.

IN 1806, when the emperor of Austria publicly renounced the empire of Germany, a question arose in the Pavilion at Brighton, on the territorial extent of the countries renounced and retained by the emperor. This led the Reminiscent to investigations, which insensibly produced his “ *Succinct history of the geographical and political revolutions of the empire of Germany, or the principal states, which composed the empire of Charlemagne, from his coronation in 800, to its dissolution in 1806, with some account of the Imperial House of Hapsburgh and of the Six Secular Electors of Germany ; and of Roman, German, French, and English Nobility.* ”

The composition of this work involved the Reminiscent in the abyss of German and Italian genealogists ; but his grand resource was *Anderson's Genealogical Tables* ;—a work of the most profound and extensive erudition. A new edition of it, corrected, enlarged, and brought down to the present time, would be an invaluable present to the literati of every nation : but such a work is too expensive to be printed, otherwise than by a large subscription ;—and for such subscriptions, this is not the hour !—On a recent inquiry the Reminiscent found that Anderson's genealogical collections were still in existence.

Another work, which the Reminiscent found of the greatest use in framing this historical compilation, is, "*Tableaux des Révolutions de l'Europe, par M. Koch* ;" the last edition of it is in four volumes : he begs leave to recommend it strongly to all his readers.

The writer attempted to give, in his *Revolutions* of the German empire, a succinct view of Roman, German, and French nobility : An arduous task !—he was assisted in it by M. de Bourblanc, the attorney-general in the parliament of Rennes, one of the many emigrants, who edified this country by their persevering loyalty and dignified patience, under their severe and long-protracted trial.

This work is in its third edition : it may be found useful in enabling persons to obtain a general knowledge of the states, which were formed out of the empire of Charlemagne : or the states, of which the continent of modern Europe is composed. The Reminiscent has given in it, what he believes every author of the present time has given in some part or other of his works, his own notions of the causes and probable effects of the French Revolution.

There does not perhaps exist any history of it so well written as the accounts of it in the "*Annual Register*," printed for the proprietors of Dodsley's publication with that title. It is greatly to be wished that these parts of it were published separately: We extract from the volume for the year 1793, the following account of the civil and military proceedings of the French Directory: the pleasure, which we are sure our readers will find in the perusal of it, will, we trust, be thought by them a sufficient apology for its insertion.

"No political assembly recorded in history ever did much greater or worse things, than the National Convention. As it consisted of men, chosen by a populous nation, it partook of the dispositions that characterized the various partisans of the people of France; of the fire and impetuosity of temper, that mark the inhabitants of the southern provinces, and the pertinacity and unyieldingness of mind, that are usually found in those of the northern parts. But that, which will eternize the memory of this famous assembly, is the undaunted audacity with which it shook off those ideas, that, implanted by education, and confirmed by the habit of years, remain so obstinately fixed in the human mind. Monarchy and Catholicism, the two favourite objects of the French nation, sanctioned by the attachment and veneration of centuries, began to totter the very first moment of their meeting, and were completely overthrown, as soon as they attempted to regain their preponderance; so entirely had these artful and enterprising men obtained the confidence and prepossession of the multitude. When they had new moulded the public mind according to their own form, they conceived the vast project of extending the same in-

"fluence over their neighbours; and they succeeded
 "beyond their own expectations, and even beyond the
 "fears of their enemies. They did, for the grandeur
 "of France, more than had been done in its most trium-
 "phant periods, and more than had ever been done for
 "a century by its most victorious rulers. They did
 "those things, through means not heretofore imagined.—
 "All was new and unprecedented in their hands; they
 "created, as it were, the very materials with which so
 "many stupendous deeds were performed: their states-
 "men, their generals, their soldiers, were of their own
 "formation. When they began the execution of the vast
 "plans they had formed, they had the whole world to
 "encounter; all kings, all states, all nations, were at
 "once their declared, and as they menaced destruction
 "to every establishment but their own, their necessary
 "enemies. What rendered their actions peculiarly
 "striking and marvellous, the actors, in those astonishing
 "scenes, were men wholly unknown to their own
 "country, before they assumed the reins of government;
 "they were not conspicuous either by birth, station, or
 "riches: their consequence was innate, and called forth
 "by a singularity of events, without which it must have
 "remained in that obscurity, which is the attendant of
 "all those talents, however great, that are not brought
 "forth by great occasions. No assembly ever displayed
 "a more astonishing mixture of shining qualities and of
 "atrocious vices. Ambitious, cruel, unprincipled, are
 "epithets inadequate to convey an apposite idea of their
 "enormities. They were true to their character from
 "the very beginning; overturning without scruple or
 "remorse, whatever stood in their way, and compassing
 "their ends, without ever adverting to the rectitude or

"moral impropriety, or turpitude of the means employed.
 "The only qualifications, on which they seemed to set
 "a substantial value, were courage and capacity, bold-
 "ness and expedition. These, divested of all virtuous
 "or sentimental feelings, appear to have been the real
 "attributes of those extraordinary, but not respectable
 "names, that continued for three years to keep all
 "Europe in unceasing alarms; that made kings tremble
 "on their thrones; that progressively overcame all
 "their enemies; that changed the face of all Christen-
 "dom in some of the most essential respects; that intro-
 "duced systems, which, if through the hand of power
 "they may be repressed, will never be eradicated: *that*
 "*founded, in short, an epoch, from which may be dated*
 "*events, that are only beginning to unfold themselves, and*
 "*the ultimate issue of which, it is not within the compass*
 "*of the profoundest politics to ascertain; but which will,*
 "*probably, if not certainly, be felt in the remotest ages*
 "*to come."*

The event in history, which bears the nearest resemblance to the French revolution, is the first extension of Mahometanism. In each may be found the same zeal to propagate the tenets of the sect, the same thirst of plunder, the same ardour of destruction, the same enthusiasm, and the same patient and adventurous courage: in each, instead of waiting like the Romans to subdue one enemy before another was provoked, an attack was made, almost in one instant, on the greatest part of the civilized world: in neither, the dissensions of the chiefs retarded for a moment the progress of the soldiers. When we read Abu Becr's circular letter,—“In the name of God,—To all true believers: This is to acquaint you, that I intend to send the true believers

"into Syria to take it from the hands of the infidels,"—it is impossible not to think of the great nation sending forth her *sans-culottes* to plant the tree of liberty : or of Napoleon's informing Rome and Naples that "their sovereigns were no more."

NAPOLÉON, however, is the great figure in the revolution. The battle of Wagram elevated him to the highest pitch of glory, which Providence has ever permitted an individual to attain. The military exploits of Zengis, Tamerlane, Aurengzebe, and other eastern conquerors, carried their victories over a much larger portion of the globe ; Trajan and Charlemagne reigned over more ample territories ; and the geographical size of the kingdoms subject to Napoleon, was far inferior to the size of those, over which the autocrat of Russia sways his sceptre : but, if we consider what constitutes the real strength and splendour of a state, its civilization, power, wealth, energy, and particularly the intellectual stock of its subjects, all empires, which have hitherto been subject to one man, incontestably yield to that of Napoleon.

His military achievements may be compared with those of any conqueror, ancient or modern : if Alexander, Cæsar, or Hannibal be mentioned, the admirers of Napoleon will suggest, that he had not, like the first, effeminate troops of an Asiatic despot, or like the second, undisciplined tribes of barbarians to encounter : nor, when he subdued Italy, had he, like the third, the whole of its upper region at his command, and an army formed by campaigns of twenty years in Spain, to fight under him. The armies opposed to Napoleon were highly brave, completely disciplined, and commanded by the ablest generals ; frequently a great proportion of his

own had not seen actual service; yet he triumphed; and his victorious banners were seen in the capital of every continental state, whose sovereign had attacked or resisted him.

Still,—to use an expression of Shakspeare, it must be admitted, that the previous unhingement of the world, which gave the invading armies of France, wherever they arrived, secret, but enthusiastic friends, both contributed to the successes of Napoleon, and increased their lustre.* Will not military men find more to study and admire in the campaigns of Turenne on the Rhine,† Marlborough on the Danube, and Welling-

* See the Quarterly Review for May, 1809, Art. *Austrian State Papers*.

† In the praise of this immortal man, the poets and orators of France exerted all their powers; but on one occasion, Louis XIV. was his best panegyrist. In January, 1675, Turenne with 20,000 men, defeated 60,000 Germans, at Turheim, and drove the whole remainder of the imperial army to the north of the Rhine. The detail of the victory was immediately sent to Versailles, and Louis read it to his courtiers: the disproportion of numbers in the conflicting armies made it heard with astonishment; and it became a contest, among the courtiers, which should express, in strongest terms, his admiration of the victory. Louis then took from his pocket a letter: it had been written by Turenne to Louvois, his majesty's minister at war, in the preceding October: it appeared by it, that both his majesty and his minister had feared for the issue of the campaign: and that, by his majesty's orders, Louvois had suggested to Turenne the prudence of a retreat into the interior. To this communication, the letter produced by Louis was an answer. Turenne modestly intimated in it, a wish that his majesty's confidence in him, and the army entrusted to him, might be continued: he was aware, he said, of a projected junction of the elector of Brandenburg with the imperialists; that he should appear to be dismayed by it, and retreat before them, until he should draw them into Lorraine,—and, then from a quarter which they could not foresee,

ton in Spain? * Throughout the whole of his long and brilliant career, did Napoleon once display greater military skill, than was exhibited by the duke of Wellington at Talavera?

The reader probably remembers the *sans-culottic* exhibitions, equally ridiculous and disgusting, of the Goddess of Reason, and the uncatholicizing of the calendar.—These had been foreseen:—When the first stone of the magnificent church of St. G  n  vi  e at Paris, (not yet completed,) was laying, the following verses and translation of them were circulated:

“Templum augustum, ingens, regin   assurgit in urbe;
Urbe, et patron   virgine, digna domus.
Tarda nimis pietas! Vanos moliris honores!
Non sunt h  c coeptis tempora digna tuis.
Ante Deo in summ   quam templum extruxeris urbe,
Impietas templis tollet et urbe Deum.”

he would fall on their most important division, completely destroy it, and completely disorganize the whole remainder of the army. What he predicted, he effected, so that, at the end of the following January, there was not a German on the French side of the Rhine.

Turenne was killed by a cannon ball, while he was reconnoitring in the advanced posts of his army. Before the news of his death had reached the camp of the enemy, the *mar  chal de Loges*, on whom the command of the French army devolved, made a movement, it is admitted, that showed no ordinary skill. Montecuculli, the imperial general, surveyed it for some time with attention; then turning to the officers, who surrounded him, said coolly,—“*Turenne ne commande plus*.”—the greatest compliment ever paid by one general to another.

* Considering all the circumstances, under which the Spanish campaigns of the duke of Wellington were fought, does the page of history record any which exhibit greater military skill?

The impenetrable array at Waterloo appears to be beyond praise. Why was not the memorable conflict called,—**THE BATTLE OR THE BRITISH SOLDIERS?**

" Paris! sur ta montagne un saint temple s'élève
 Digne de toi, digne de sainte G  n  vi  ve.
 Tardive pi  t  ! d' un vain z  le saisi,
 Paris! pour    projet quel temps as tu choisi!
 Avant que pour ton Dieu    monument s'ach  ve,
 L'imp  t   chez toi, dominant en tout lieu,
 Des temples, de tes murs, aura chass   ton Dieu."

XVI.

CONFESSIONS OF FAITH.

IT has been observed invidiously of the Reminiscent, that, in all his publications, whatever may have been the subject of them, he has always had in view the interest of the Catholic cause.

He pleads—*sans phrases*,—guilty to the charge;—he unequivocally admits, that *some* of his works were written with no other view; and that in *all*, he kept his attention directed towards this object, so far, that he never omitted to avail himself of any opportunity which his subject afforded, either of bringing forward a topic that redounded to the honour of the Catholic church, or of defending her against charges, which he thought unfounded or exaggerated.

In fact,—the restoration of the Roman Catholic portion of his majesty's subjects to their legitimate rank in the community,—or, in other words, to an equal participation with their fellow subjects, in the blessings of the constitution, has been the great object of his life. During forty years he has pursued it openly, and he thinks he may say honourably. In this pursuit, he has avoided every thing that savoured of personal hostility. Claiming for himself the merit of conviction and sincerity, he has ever been ready to acknowledge the equal conviction and sincerity of others.

With the view, which he has mentioned, he published his "*Historical and Literary Account of the Formularies or Confessions of Faith, or symbolic books of the Roman Catholic, Greek, and principal Protestant Churches*," 8vo.

Various circumstances rendered it of importance to the Reminiscent, to obtain an accurate notion of the creeds of the principal churches, which, during the century that followed the reformation, separated themselves from the church of Rome. The continent abounds with works, of every size, which contain historical documents of this description ; but the writer is not aware that such a work has yet appeared in England. Whether his own attempt be successfully executed, the readers of it must determine. He believes it to be written with moderation, and that it was preceded by adequate researches.

He added to it "*Four Dissertations* ;" a short mention of them now follows.

XVII.

HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF THE MONASTIC ORDERS OF THE CHURCH OF ROME.

THIS was the title and subject of the first of the four dissertations, which the Reminiscent annexed to his "*Confessions of Faith*." In his early years, he had seen much of religious orders, and felt for them a respect which never quitted him. Speaking generally, the lives of all the members of them were blameless ; and it is universally allowed that among them many were eminently useful. Had the Reminiscent been indulged in an inclination early conceived and long persisted in, he himself might, perhaps, have been aggregated to one of them : it is difficult for a person, who has inclinations

toward piety and study, to behold, indifferent and unmoved, establishments so excellently calculated for both. The Reminiscent has mentioned, in several parts of his Historical Memoirs, the services which they rendered to religion, literature, and society in general, during the middle ages. These, since the revival of letters, have been equally edifying: to use the strong expression of Mr. Gibbon, the shelves of our libraries groan under the labour of the Benedictine monks.

In the same work, and in another, afterward noticed in these pages, he has given some account of the *Society of Jerus.* It has been said that he has painted them *en beau*:—Be it so,—still, as they have been so often painted *en noir*, to exhibit for once the fair side of their character was but an act of justice. But the Reminiscent is not sensible that he has exaggerated their praise: most certainly what he said was dictated neither by partiality or interest. No one can be more independent of the order, less connected with it or its members, or have fewer calls to advocate their cause: but,

“Pleased to spread friendships, and to cover heats,”

Pope.

he had great pleasure in writing their eulogy.—In the execution of the task it was a great satisfaction to him to pay a tribute to the memory of sir Alexander Strachan, a distinguished member of the order,—the friend, the instructor of his youth, and never out of his remembrance.

Surely no one, who professes to be a friend of religious liberty, can, consistently with his professed principles, persecute the Jesuits, or interfere with their religious observances. But real and enlightened friends, either of civil or of religious liberty, are not so common, as the general profession of friendship to both would ren-

der probable. This Mr. Fox observed to the Reminiscent ; " but," he said, " you may always depend on Fitzwilliam and Petty."

The true spirit of civil and religious liberty is expressed at the end of the address of the English Catholics in 1817.—" We have solemnly protested," they say, " and we again solemnly protest against all intemperate language, all rancorous and illiberal invective, all harsh and insulting expressions. We bear no animosity to individuals of any communion, sect, or party. *We embrace all our countrymen and fellow-subjects, as friends and brethren ; and most sincerely do we wish to see all united in the participation of every right and every blessing, which we solicit for ourselves.*"

XVIII.

ESSAY ON THE DISCIPLINE OF THE CHURCH OF ROME RESPECTING THE GENERAL PERUSAL OF THE SCRIPTURES IN THE VULGAR TONGUE BY THE LAITY.

THIS publication was owing to certain harsh pamphlets, published about the time when it made its appearance, in which the principles and practice of the Catholics, in this article of the discipline of their church, had been greatly misrepresented,—their restrictions on the perusal of the Bible immoderately exaggerated, and some violent but groundless attacks made on a society of Catholics then engaged in the publication of a new edition of Dr. Challoner's version of the New Testament, and of books of devotion for the use of poor Catholics.

This leads to a consideration of the Bible societies ; a difference of opinion respecting them, is known to prevail

among Protestants ; but much of it seems to depend on the manner, in which the question on their merit is stated. If it be asked, whether Christianity is best taught to a child, or to persons generally uneducated, by a good catechism and good instruction ; or by the mere perusal of the Bible, without either ? it must, in the opinion of the Reminiscent, be answered,—by the catechism and instruction.

He presumes, *absit invidia verbo*,—to assert, that, taking a Protestant boy of the age of ten years, who has read the Bible, in the manner in which it is usually read before that age in England, and a Catholic boy of the same age, who has been taught the French parochial catechism, and *Fleury's Historical Catechism*, in the manner in which these were usually taught even to the poorest French children, the latter will be found to have a fuller and a clearer knowledge of the history, the morality, and the religion of the Old and New Testaments than the former. On the other hand, if it be asked, whether, in cases where a Bible can be procured, but no other instruction can be obtained, it is better that children and persons uneducated should have, than be without the Bible—does it not appear quite monstrous to say, that the Bible should be withheld from them ? These are extreme cases,—the application of them to the *mesne* is not very difficult.

In the writer's humble opinion, wherever full catechetical and other proper instruction is given, the circulation of the Bible in the vernacular language, among the uninformed laity, is not to be encouraged ; but in the absence of other instruction, the circulation of such a Bible is very desirable. Some things in the sacred volume are hard to be understood ; but it contains a

multitude that edify, that instruct, that inculcate true morality, that excite true devotion.

In a rescript addressed by his holiness Pius the seventh, to the vicars apostolic of Great Britain, dated the 8th of April, 1820, his holiness exhorts them to take care that "the faithful abstain from reading the wicked books, in which, in these calamitous times, our religion is worthlessly attacked from all sides ; and that they should be strengthened in faith and good works, by the reading of pious books, and particularly the holy scriptures, in editions approved by the church ;— you preceding them by word and example."—" *Ut à perversorum librorum lectione, quibus calamitosissimis hisce temporibus sancta nostra religio undique impetitur, abstineant ; ut piorum librorum, præsertim sacrarum scripturarum lectione, in editionibus ab ecclesiâ approbatis, in fide et in bonis operibus, vobis verbo et exemplo præcuntibus, confortentur.*"

Cardinal Baussët observes, in his interesting life of Bossuet,* that, upon the revocation of the edict of Nantes, government, at the suggestion of that prelate, printed, at the public expense, 50,000 copies of the translation of the New Testament by father Amelotte, and distributed them in the provinces.

XIX.

ON THE WORK INTITLED "ROMAN CATHOLIC PRINCIPLES IN REFERENCE TO GOD AND THE KING, PUBLISHED IN 1680."

THIS work has always been considered by learned and impartial Catholics, to exhibit a just and accurate

* Vol. iv. p. 83.

statement of their principles on such of the two great points, mentioned in its title, as are subjects of controversy between Catholics and Protestants; it is particularly interesting, as it was noticed by lord viscount Stafford on his trial. A new edition of it has been recently published, by the reverend John Kirk, the Roman Catholic pastor at Litchfield. In an elaborate preface, this learned gentleman gives an account of the various editions of *The Principles*, and offers strong reasons for believing that the work was composed by father James Corker, abbot of the English Benedictine abbey of Lambspring in Germany.

XX.

AN ESSAY ON THE REUNION OF CHRISTIANS.

THIS publication exposed the Reminiscent to some ungente animadversions.

1. By some, he was accused of improperly softening the doctrine and discipline of the Roman Catholic church, in order to make the reunion of the Protestant churches to it appear more easy, than it is in reality: but, as he transcribes *the Creed of Pope Pius the fourth*, and refers his readers to *the Catechism of the Council of Trent*, to *Bossuet's Exposition of Faith*, and to *Dr. Challoner's Statement of Christian Doctrine*,—as works containing a complete account of the Roman Catholic creed, he cannot conceive that there is the least real ground for this objection.

2. A still more serious charge was brought against the writer, by citing from his work, a passage, in which he particularizes eleven articles of religious belief, in which

all denominations of Christians agree. Strange to relate!—these have been repeatedly held forth, as containing the whole of the writer's own creed, and he has therefore been styled a latitudinarian :—Never was there a more groundless charge.

The Reminiscent first noticed the projects of reunion and the articles of agreement in his "*Revolutions of the German Empire*."—He begs leave to transcribe from it, and the Essay, the whole of this passage,—the articles themselves,—and his remarks upon them ; he will then leave the charge to the judgment of the reader.

* " A view of the fatal effects, which religious animosity has produced in the Christian world, has often made wise and peaceful men endeavour to reunite all denominations of Christians in one religion. With this view, at an early period of the reformation, *Melancthon* formed his celebrated distinction of the points in dispute between Roman Catholics and Protestants, into the essential, the important, and the indifferent :—in a later period of the reformation, *Grotius*, the most learned man of his age, employed the last years of his life in projects of religious pacification : towards the end of the seventeenth century, a correspondence for the reunion of the Roman Catholic and Lutheran churches, was carried on between *Bossuet* on one side, and *Leibniz* and *Molanus* on the other ; it may be seen in the Benedictine edition of the works of *Bossuet*, and Mr. Dutens's edition of the works of *Leibniz*. In the beginning of the last century, a similar correspondence for the reunion of the Roman Catholic and English churches was carried on under the direction, or at

* *Revolutions of the German Empire*, p. 136.—*Essay on the Reunion of Christians*, S. V.

least with the connivance of *cardinal de Noailles* and
 “*archbishop Wake* : a full account of it is inserted in the
 “last volume of *Mosheim’s Ecclesiastical History*. With
 “a view of facilitating this reunion, *Dr. Courayer* wrote
 “his *Discourse on the Validity of English Ordinations*.
 “A curious history of the controversy to which that treatise gave rise, is contained in *Commentatio Historico-*
 “*Theologica de Consecratione Anglorum Episcoporum, ab*
 “*Oloao Kiorningio, 4to. Helmstadii, 1739.*

“That such men as *Melancthon, Grotius, Bossuet,*
 “*Leibniz, and Molanus,* should engage in the project of
 “reunion, is a strong argument in favour of its practi-
 “cability ; that it failed in their hands, may show that
 “it is more than an Herculean labour ; but it does not
 “prove it utterly impracticable. It is evident, that, at
 “one time more than another, the public mind may be
 “disposed to peaceful councils, and to feel the advantage
 “of carrying mutual concession, as far as the wise and
 “good of each party wish them carried. Perhaps the
 “time is now come :

“*The soul’s dark cottage, battered and decayed,*
 “*Lets in new lights through chinks which time has made.”*

WALLER.

“Through the flaws and breaches, the yawning chasms,
 “(as they are termed by *Mr. Burke,*) which the events
 “of the times have made in the civil and ecclesiastical
 “institutions of almost every country, a flood of light
 “seems to break in, and to point out to all who invoke
 “the name of Christ, the expedience of mutual forbear-
 “ance, mutual good humour, and a general coalition in
 “defence of their common Christianity.*

* An able history of the attempts, which have been made at different times for the reunion of Christians, is given in a learned and

“ It is observable that early in the present century, the emperor Napoleon conceived the project of effecting the reunion of all Christians on the continent of Europe : he is said to have particularly had in view the catholicizing, as it was termed, of the northern part of Germany. To forward his design, many works were published : one of them the *Essay sur l'Unité des Cultes* of M. Bonold, is written with great ingenuity. That essay, and several others by the same author, are inserted in the *Ambigu* of Peltier, and deserve the attention of every reader : though they contain some things, to which a Roman Catholic writer would object, they are evidently written by a Roman Catholic pen.

“ The first point to be considered by those, who meditate the project of reunion, is its practicability ;— those who are disposed to assert it, will observe the number of important articles of religious faith, in which all Christians are agreed, and the proportionally small number of those in which any Christians disagree.

“ All Christians believe that, 1. There is one God ; 2. That he is a being of infinite perfection ; 3. That he directs all things by his providence ; 4. That it is our duty to love him with all our hearts, and our neighbours as ourselves ; 5. That it is our duty to repent of the sins we commit : 6. That God pardons the truly

interesting work, intituled “ *De la Réunion des Communions Chrétiennes, ou Histoire des Négotiations, Conférences, et Correspondences, qui ont eu lieu, des Projets et des Plans qui ont été formés à ce Sujet, depuis la Naissance du Protestantisme jusqu'à présent. Par M. Tabaraud, Prêtre de la ci-devant Congrégation de l'Oratoire, Paris. 1808, 1 vol. 8vo.*”

“ penitent ; 7. That there is a future state of rewards
 “ and punishment, when all mankind shall be judged
 “ according to their works ; 8. That God sent his Son
 “ into the world to be its Saviour, the author of eternal
 “ salvation to all who obey him ; 9. That he is the true
 “ Messiah ; 10. That he taught, worked miracles, suf-
 “ fered, died, and rose again, as is related in the four
 “ gospels ; 11. That he will hereafter make a second
 “ appearance on the earth, raise all mankind from the
 “ dead, judge the world in righteousness, bestow eternal
 “ life on the virtuous, and punish the workers of iniquity.

“ In the belief of these articles, all Christians, Roman
 “ Catholics, Lutherans, Calvinists, Quakers, Anabaptists,
 “ and Socinians are agreed. In addition to these, each
 “ division and subdivision of Christians has its own tenets.
 “ Now, let each settle among its own members, what are
 “ the articles of belief peculiar to them, which, in their
 “ cool deliberate judgment, they consider as *absolutely*
 “ *necessary* that a person should believe, to be a member
 “ of the church of Christ :—let these articles be divest-
 “ ed of all foreign matter, and expressed in perspicuous,
 “ exact, and unequivocal terms ;—and, above all, *let each*
 “ *distinction of Christians earnestly wish to find an agree-*
 “ *ment between themselves and their fellow Christians :—*
 “ the result of a discussion, conducted on this plan, would
 “ most assuredly be, to convince all Christians that the
 “ essential articles of religious credence, in which there
 “ is a real difference among Christians, are not so nume-
 “ rous as the verbal disputes and extraneous matter (in
 “ which the controversy is too often involved) make them
 “ generally thought.

“ Still,—some articles will remain, the belief of which
 “ one denomination of Christians will consider to be

“ the obligation of every Christian, and which other
 “ Christian denominations will condemn. On some of
 “ those a *speedy* reunion of Christians is not to be ex-
 “ pected : but, to use the language of *Mr. Vansittart*, in
 “ his excellent letter to the Bishop of Landaff, and John
 “ Croker, Esq.—there is an inferior degree of reunion,
 “ more within our prospect, and yet, perhaps, as perfect
 “ as human infirmity allows us to hope for ; wherein,
 “ though all differences of opinions should not be extin-
 “ guished, yet they may be refined from all party preju-
 “ dices, and interested views, so softened by the spirit of
 “ charity and mutual concession, and so controlled by
 “ agreement on the leading principles and zeal for the
 “ general interests of Christianity, that no sect or persua-
 “ sion should be tempted to make religion subservient to
 “ secular views, or to employ political power to the pre-
 “ judice of others. The existence of dissent will, per-
 “ haps, be inseparable from religious freedom, so long as
 “ the mind of man is liable to error : but, it is not un-
 “ reasonable to hope, that hostility may cease, though
 “ perfect agreement cannot be established. If WE CAN-
 “ NOT RECONCILE ALL OPINIONS, LET US RECONCILE ALL
 “ HEARTS.”

XXI.

AN APPEAL TO THE PROTESTANTS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND
 IRELAND.

THIS was published in 1813, when the petitions of the English and Irish Catholics for the repeal of the penal laws remaining in force against them, were presented to the legislature. It contains a succinct mention of the unrepealed laws, and a summary view of their severe operation on the Catholics,—and points out their

impolicy, the groundlessness of the argument, by which they are usually defended, and the motives of humanity, justice and policy, which suggest their repeal. Several thousands of this Appeal were sold or circulated. It gave universal satisfaction to Catholics, and did not offend Protestants. A tolerable crop of answers to it appeared, but none obtained much public attention. The ablest was published by a society of gentlemen, who styled themselves, *The Protestant Association*: the late worthy and learned Mr. Granville Sharpe was their president: it expressed some of the prejudices of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but was written with temper and moderation.

XXII.

INAUGURAL ORATION AT LAYING THE FIRST STONE OF THE LONDON INSTITUTION.

ANOTHER literary production, subjoined to the History of the Confessions of Faith, was an *Inaugural Oration*, spoken by the writer on the 4th of May, 1815, at the Ceremony of laying the first Stone of the London Institution for the Diffusion of Science and Literature. The ceremony took place on a part of a spacious piece of ground in Moorfields, which had been purchased for the Institution of the city of London. Mr. Birch, then the lord mayor of that city, the sheriffs and aldermen, lord Carrington, the president of the Institution, and several other persons of distinction, went in procession to the spot, preceded by banners and a band of music, through Cornhill, Cheapside, Old Jewry, Coleman-street, and Fore-street. The lord mayor laid the first stone, with the usual ceremonies, and addressed the surrounding audience in an elegant discourse, delivered with a dignity and grace,

that would do honour to the most eloquent senator.—The party then adjourned to the London tavern to hear the Inaugural Address: the purport of it was to show the advantages which science and commerce derive from each other. It was printed by the desire, and at the expense of the Institution: the Reminiscent had, at the formation of that establishment, been appointed its standing counsel.—A copy of it is transcribed in the Appendix to these Reminiscences.*

The Reminiscent began a *Life of Christ*, and printed and circulated among his friends, a specimen of it. His design was to frame an harmony of the four evangelists, by translating them, verse for verse,—without any addition or omission,—in such words and phrases, as it might be supposed the evangelists themselves might have used, if they had written in the English language;—an arduous and an useful undertaking,—but which, with great regret, he was obliged to abandon on account of its extreme difficulty, and the time, which a proper execution of it would require.

The only other literary work, which the Reminiscent has begun and left unfinished, was an *History of the Binomial Theorem*;—for he too has had his algebraic hours, and disported with imaginary quantities: but he found the allurements of these so strong, as to make it absolutely necessary, as he wished to continue his professional labour, to divorce himself entirely from them. Perhaps the reasoning on impossible quantities, and exterminating them by algebraic operations, till the impossible symbols disappear, and an equation of real quantities is produced, is the highest and most delightful effort of the human understanding: but its hold on the mind,

* APPENDIX, Note III.

makes it absolutely incompatible with professional duty. The writer was therefore obliged to abandon it :

“ *Et multum formosa vale !* ”

was his exclamation, when he parted from algebra, and consigned his binomial lucubration to the flames.*

If the Reminiscent were desired to mention the moment of his literary life, in which he experienced the greatest literary delight, he should, without hesitation, mention that, in which, for the first time, he perused the first problem of Euclid, and saw the new world of intellectual gratification which was opened for him ; but he soon found it his duty to turn from it altogether.

XXIII.

HISTORICAL MEMOIRS OF THE CHURCH OF FRANCE, IN THE
REIGNS OF LEWIS THE FOURTEENTH, LEWIS THE FIF-
TEENTH, LEWIS THE SIXTEENTH, AND THE FRENCH RE-
VOLUTION.

THE Reminiscent then published his *Historical Memoirs of the Church of France, in the reigns of Lewis the fourteenth, Lewis the fifteenth, Lewis the sixteenth, and the French Revolution*, 1 vol. 8vo.

* The profound and extensive classical knowledge of the late Mr. Porson is well known : his knowledge also of algebra and geometry was respectable. He had meditated a new edition of *Diophantus*, and an illustration of it by the modern discoveries. A short time before he died he gave the Reminiscent an algebraic problem, which, though not of the highest order, is certainly curious. We suppose some of our readers may wish to see it ; we therefore insert it and our solution of it, in the Appendix.†

† APPENDIX, Note IV.

To an investigation of these events in the history of the Gallican church, he was led by the attention, which he had been frequently obliged to pay, to the questions on the nature and extent of the temporal and spiritual power of the popes, which, since the reformation, have too frequently agitated the body of English Catholics ; and which, during the reigns of the monarchs, whom we have mentioned, and throughout the whole period of the French revolution, have convulsed the church of France. It also gave him an opportunity of producing before his Protestant readers, a view of the general splendour of that great hierarchy, and of the many illustrious examples, too little known in this country, of true religion and piety, with which the highest ranks both in the church and state of France then abounded.

The Reminiscent's researches in the composition of this work considerably elevated, in his estimation, the character of Lewis the fourteenth. That monarch's persecution of the Jansenists cannot be defended ; his revocation of the edict of Nantes* was a violation of public

* In this, Lewis was highly to be blamed ; but he was also to be pitied, as great misrepresentation was used to lead him into the measure. The principal performer in this deed of iniquity was Louvois: Madam de Maintenon disapproved it. The Reminiscent earnestly requests his anti-catholic readers, if he has any, to peruse the account of it, in his *Historical Memoirs of the Church of France*.

The representations published in this country of the cruelties exercised over the Protestants at Nismes, have been read by him with horror ; he has reason to think them exaggerated ; but he believes them sufficiently true to cover with infamy all who instigated, perpetrated, or connived at them, or who permitted them to go unpunished. Still, it should be always kept in view, that these dreadful scenes took place during the height of mutual exasperation, and had been preceded by the perpetration of most barbarous outrages

faith; the variety and ostentation of his early amours contributed much to the debasement of the morals of the nation; and his expensive wars exhausted her resources. The two last of these circumstances contributed more than all others, to the tremendous revolutions, which we have witnessed, and unfortunately yet behold. Still, the Reminiscent sees no reason to deny that Lewis the fourteenth possessed much sound sense, great discrimination of character, unconquerable firmness, real dignity, just notions of propriety,—and, when he was not misled by his passions, great respect for moral principle. His greatest praise is, that few monarchs have been attended to posterity by such a splendid escort of persons, eminent for all that justly confers renown. With such exalted characters every rank in the church as well as in the state, abounded: to bring them before his English readers was the principal object of these Memoirs.

XXIV.

BIOGRAPHICAL ACCOUNT OF BOSSUET.

THE same motives, which induced the Reminiscent to compile his Historical Memoirs of the Church of France, induced him also to publish his "*Biographical Accounts of Bossuet, Fénelon, the Abbot de Rancé, Thomas à Kempis, St. Vincent of Paul, and Henri-Marie de Boudon,*"—the literary occupation, from which he has derived most pleasure. Nothing is more pleasing

upon the Catholics in the same districts:—Of these, an authentic, and the Reminiscent believes, an uncontradicted account, may be found in the *Abbé Barruel's Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire du Jacobinisme*.

than to contemplate characters in which there is so much to admire and to love; and in which, if there be any thing to blame, there is nothing that disgusts.

As to *Bossuet*,—erudition, eloquence; and powers of reasoning, were so united in him, that, to discover another person, in whom all should be found united in the same high degree, both ancient and modern times might, perhaps, be ransacked in vain.

We have mentioned Mr. Burke's endless corrections of his compositions; *Bossuet*, by the account of his Benedictine editors, was equally laborious; but in this they differed: that Burke appears to have been satisfied with his original conceptions, and to have been fastidious only in respect to words and phrases; *Bossuet* seems to have been equally dissatisfied with his first thoughts and his first words. The inequality between those works of *Bossuet*, which the Benedictine editors published from the drafts of them, and those published by himself, is utterly inconceivable;—it is a literary phenomenon: it might be considered impossible that both should proceed from the same pen, or be the thoughts or words of the same person.

Rousseau himself has informed us, that between his first committing of a sentence to paper and his final settlement of it, his obliterations and alterations were countless. That this should have been the case of such writers as Robertson or Gibbon, is not surprising; their eternal batteries and counter-batteries of words seem to be the effect of much reflection and many second thoughts; but that it should have been the case with writers like *Bossuet*, Burke, and Rousseau, who appear to pour streams equally copious and rapid of unpremeditated eloquence, appears extraordinary: it justifies

the common remark, that we seldom read with pleasure, what has not been composed with labour. The *molle atque facetum*, which Horace ascribes to Virgil, indicates a composition which taste has inspired, but which doings and iterated doings have worked into softness. Such are the pages of Addison, such the Offices of Cicero ; such also, but in a superlative degree, are many passages of Milton : Akenside, his imitator, with all his genius, taste, and labour, never attained it ; he does not exhibit a single instance of this perfect composition : but we often find it in Gray.

The sermons of Bossuet place him, incontestably, in the first line of preachers ; and even leave it open to argument, whether he be not the first in that line. Bourdaloue and Massillon alone can dispute his pre-eminence. Nothing in the sermons of either equals, in splendour or sublimity, a multitude of passages, which may be produced from the sermons of Bossuet ; and he has little of Massillon's too frequent monotony, or of the cold dialectic, which occasionally retards the beautiful march of Bourdaloue. On the other hand, Bossuet has not the continued elegance and grace of Massillon ; and an advocate of Bourdaloue might contend, that, if Bourdaloue appear to yield to Bossuet in sublimity, it is only because the sublimity of Bourdaloue is more familiar and therefore less imposing.

Those, who wish to see a discussion, by two most able adversaries, of the fundamental point of difference between Catholics and Protestants,—the authority of the church in matters of religion,—should peruse the accounts published by Bossuet and Claude, of their conference upon it. A succinct view of this conference is given in the Reminiscent's Life of Bossuet : each conducted himself in it as a scholar and a gentleman.

In delivering their sermons, Bourdaloue used no action ; Bossuet and Massillon used much ; the action of the last was particularly admired. It produced an extraordinary effect, when he pronounced his funeral oration upon Lewis the fourteenth. The church was hung with black, a magnificent mausolæum was raised over the bier, the edifice was filled with trophies and other memorials of the monarch's past glories, daylight was excluded, but innumerable tapers supplied its place, and the ceremony was attended by the most illustrious persons in the kingdom. Massillon ascended the pulpit, contemplated, for some moments, the scene before him, then raised his arms to heaven, looked down on the scene beneath, and, after a short pause, slowly said, in a solemn subdued tone, "*Mes frères—Dieu seul est grand !*" "God only is "great !" With one impulse, all the auditory rose from their seats, turned to the altar, and slowly and reverently bowed.

It seems to be admitted, that the sermons of Massillon, the tragedies of Euripides and Racine, the Georgics of Virgil, and Tully's Offices, are the most perfect of human compositions. Those, therefore, who read sermons merely for their literary merit, will generally prefer the sermons of Massillon to those of Bourdaloue and Bossuet. On the other hand, the profound theology of the sermons of Bossuet, and the countless passages in them of true sublimity and exquisite pathos,* will lead many to give

* They never occur more frequently than in his funeral orations. One of the finest of them is the funeral oration on the death of Henrietta Ann, the daughter of our Charles the first, and wife of the duke of Orleans. On the 29th of June, 1670, after drinking a glass of cold water, in her apartment of St. Cloud, she was seized with a shivering, succeeded by a burning heat, which threw her into the

him a decided preference over both his rivals. But those who read sermons for instruction, and whose chief

most excruciating torments. She cried out that she was poisoned: the physicians were sent for; when they saw her, they were struck with horror at her livid appearance,—pronounced her beyond medical aid, and advised her to receive, without delay, the last sacraments of the church. The princess heard them pronounce her fate with firmness; and, recollecting the manner in which Bossuet had attended her mother, the queen-dowager of England, in her last moments, she desired that an instant should not be lost in sending for him. Three couriers were successively despatched to him; and he arrived between eleven and twelve at night at St. Cloud.

In the interval, she suffered the most dreadful pains, and, her immediate dissolution being apprehended, she made a general confession of her sins to the abbé Feuillét, a person generally esteemed, but of a harsh character. When her confession was finished, her attendants were called in: the whole scene was afflicting and horrible.

The account, which we have of the conduct of the confessor, makes us, perhaps unreasonably, blame his merciless austerity. Her lamentable shrieks he treated as acts of rebellion against the divine will, and told her, that her sins were not punished as they deserved. In the midst of her convulsions, she received his reproofs with mildness, but often inquired of madame de La Fayette, who was at her bedside, if Bossuet were not yet come. Before he came, she received extreme unction from the abbé Feuillét. Having exclaimed in an agony of pain, "Will these torments never end?"—"Don't forget yourself in this manner," said the austere abbé; you ought to be better disposed for suffering; but I must tell you, that your torments *will* soon end."

At length, Bossuet arrived:—As soon as the princess saw him, she made him promise not to quit her till she breathed her last;—he knelt down, dissolved in tears, leaning on her bed, and holding a crucifix in his hand. With a tremulous voice, often interrupted by his own feelings, he invited her to join him, as far as her sufferings allowed, in the reflections, prayers, and acts of contrition, faith, hope, and charity, which he should address to God for her, and in her name. He was exceedingly moved, and every person present sympathized in the scene. Nothing could exceed the tender and affecting sentiments of

object, in the perusal of them, is to be excited to virtue or confirmed in her paths, will generally consider Bour-

devotion and piety, which Bossuet suggested to her; he finally subdued by them, in a great measure, her sense of the cruel sufferings which she endured. The princess heard him with mild and composed constancy; if he stopped for a moment, she gently entreated him to continue, assuring him, that his words were of inestimable value to her. He then read over to her, the recommendation of the soul in the liturgy, explained it to her; made her gently repeat with him its soothing prayers, and softly instilled into her the sentiments which they are intended to convey; filled her soul with faith, with compunction, with calm, with resignation, and, above all, with divine love for him, into whose hands she was so soon to yield her soul.—She herself, at last, felt a consciousness of her serene triumph over pain,—“Oh, my God!” she exclaimed, “why did I not always adhere to thee!”—She recollected that the crucifix, which Bossuet had in his hands, was the same which he had given to her mother, the queen-dowager of England, to hold in her agony. She took it from him, and kept it in her hands till she breathed her last.

An hour before she died, she turned to madame de La Fayette, and, in the English language, which Bossuet did not understand, desired her to observe, that, “full of gratitude for the spiritual assistance, which she had received from Bossuet, she requested that, after her decease, a particular emerald ring, set in diamonds of great price, might be presented to him.” Her torments continued to the last, but her patience remained; she persisted to listen to the exhortations, to repeat the prayers, and make the humble and fervent offering of herself to the divine will, which Bossuet suggested to her. Those who heard them, never forgot them; the abbé Feuillét declared he never heard any thing so completely fine.

At three in the morning, the princess died. The particulars of her death were immediately related by madame de la Fayette to Lewis the fourteenth. He sent for Bossuet, heard them again from him, and then, with his own hand, put the emerald ring, mentioned by the princess, on the prelate's finger, and desired him to wear it for the rest of his life, in remembrance of her. He added, that he himself could not better show his regard for the memory of his sister-in-law, than by desiring Bossuet to pronounce her funeral oration,

daloue as the first of preachers, and every time they peruse him, will feel new delight. No sermons possess,

Every thing we know of Bossuet, leads us to think that he had a very feeling heart; it certainly is discernible in every line of his funeral oration on the princess. He chose for his text the verse of Ecclesiastes, (L. 2.) so suitable to the occasion, "Vanity of vanities! All is vanity!" Having pronounced these words, he remained for some time in silence, evidently overpowered by his feelings. "It was to be my lot," he then exclaimed, "to perform this melancholy duty to the memory of this illustrious princess! She, whom I had observed so attentive, while I performed the same duty to her royal mother, was herself so soon to become the theme of a similar discourse!—And my voice was so soon to be exerted in discharging the like melancholy duty to her! O vanity! O nothing! O mortals! ever ignorant of what awaits you!—But a month ago would she have thought it! You, who then beheld her drowned in tears for her mother's loss, would you have thought it! Would you have thought, that you were so soon to meet again to bewail her own fate! O vanity of vanities! All is vanity! These are the only words! the only reflection, which, in such an event, my sorrow leaves me!"

After this eloquent exordium, Bossuet pursues his dismal theme. He describes, in strains, always eloquent, but always mournful, the short but brilliant career of the princess;—so highly stationed, so greatly gifted, so widely admired, and so generally loved! The idol of the world! The pride of her august family! the delight of all who approached her!—"Yet what," he exclaimed, "is all this, which we, so much below it, so greatly admire! While we tremble in the view of the great, God smites them, that they may serve as warnings to us. Yes, so little does he consider these great ones, that he makes them often serve as mere materials for our instruction!—We have always sufficient reason to be convinced of our nothingness; but if, to wean our hearts from the fascination of the world, the wonderful and the astonishing is necessary, what we now behold is sufficiently terrible.—O night of wo! O night of horror! When, like a peal of thunder, the dreadful words,—Henrietta is dying—Henrietta is dead—burst upon us! Nothing could be heard but cries; nothing was discernible but grief, despair, and the image of death!"—The writers of the time mentioned that, when Bossuet

in so great a degree, the indescribable charm of simplicity ; and no composition, sacred or profane, contains any thing, which, in grace or effect, exceeds that insensible rise from mere instruction into eloquence, of which Bourdaloue scarcely has a sermon that does not furnish more than one example. To these must be added, his inestimable talent of conversing with his hearers.—One specimen the Reminiscent cannot refuse himself the pleasure of transcribing : “ Was Magdalen,” he says in his panegyric of her, “ better acquainted with Jesus Christ than we ? On the contrary, the mysteries and doctrines of Christianity, in which we have been instructed, have discovered to us wonders, that were hidden from her eyes. Why, therefore, should we make a longer delay ? Without going farther, why, before we quit this church,—before we stir from this very altar, where Jesus Christ himself is present,—(not indeed as a guest, which he was at the house of the Pharisee, but as our food and nourishment, as a victim immolated for us, as our priest, as our pastor,)—why should we not now give ourselves up to him ?—Let us, for once, completely do, what we have so often proposed to do ;—let us say to him, No ! O Lord ! It shall not be in a year’s time ; at the end of a month ; it shall be to-day. It is wrong for us to temporize with you.—It shall not be, when I have finished this or that business ; for it is unjust that the concerns of the world should make me postpone the concerns of God to them : It shall not be, when age comes upon me, for thine, O God ! is every age : and

pronounced these words, the whole audience arose from their seats ; that terror was visible in every countenance, and that, for some moments, Bossuet himself was unable to proceed.

“ it would be a sensible insult to thee that I should re-
 “ serve for thee, the last years, the refuse of my life.
 “ O God!—It is now :—I am thine ; and I will be al-
 “ ways thine. Receive the protestation I make to
 “ thee, and strengthen the resolution which I form in
 “ thy sight.”—Can simplicity, can instruction, can elo-
 quence go beyond this passage ? It is equally the sub-
 lime of nature, the sublime of taste, and the sublime of
 religion.*

* The Reminiscent is aware how unequal he is to the discussion of any topic of taste or literature ; it is therefore with the utmost deference that he submits this annotation to his readers.

It is known that Longinus, in his Treatise on the Sublime, divides it into five species. The Reminiscent begs leave to suggest, that one species may be added to these, and constitute a sixth.

In most approved authors, particularly Homer, Shakspeare, and Milton, passages occur, which, *from the perfect execution of them, and from that circumstance only*, produce in the reader that mental pause and feeling of astonishment, which is universally described to be the characteristic effect of the sublime, and to proceed from it. These form the species for which the Reminiscent contends. But no passages enter into it, which, from their grandeur or pathos, or from any other circumstance than the mere perfection of their execution, arise to sublimity. The Reminiscent also excludes from it every passage which describes scenes or expresses sentiments, so ordinary, so gay, or so light, as to be inconsistent with sublime feeling. Placing aside these excluded classes, the Reminiscent begs leave to ask, if, in many approved authors, there be not passages from which grandeur and pathos are altogether absent, but in which,—after the reader has perused, or while he is perusing them, he pauses in silent astonishment at the wonderful perfection with which they are executed, and pays for it, the full tribute of admiration to the author.—Such, he apprehends, are Homer’s description of the priest of Apollo, when he solicits the restoration of his daughter, many of the speeches of Helen to Priam, when she describes the Grecian chiefs, Andromache’s confession to Æneas of her marriage with Pyrrhus, Othello’s account of his courtship of Desdemona, and Griffith’s incomparable

In France there occasionally came to the aid of the venerable curé, under the name of missionaries, a cer-

eulogy of the fallen cardinal:—we may add to these the passage in the text, and the celebrated address of the high-priest to Abner, in the *Athalie* of Racine:

“Celui qui met un frein à la fureur des flots,
Sçait aussi des méchans arrêter les complots,
Soumis, avec respect, à sa volonté sainte,
Je crains Dieu, cher Abner, et n'ai point d'autres craintes.”

These passages contain no splendour of diction or of thought; they do not arise to the grand or pathetic; but every reader of taste feels the exquisite perfection of the composition, and surveys it with the same sentiment of wonder, as he receives from any passage that would fall under any of the five classes into which Longinus has divided sublimity.

It is needless to mention to any reader of these pages, that passages of the greatest sublimity abound in the book of Revelations. In one of these, it arises from the simple mention of a circumstance, which, standing singly, scarcely denotes more than nothingness, but which, from the place in which it is introduced, possesses a degree of sublimity, almost unparalleled. It is the first verse of the eighth chapter:—there, immediately after all the gorgeous and appalling signs and sounds, which successively followed the opening of the *six first* seals, the writer says, “and when the angel had opened the *seventh* seal, there was silence in heaven, as for half an hour.” What had taken place on the opening of the *six*, had prepared the mind to expect, on the opening of the *seventh*, some sign or sound, pre-eminently grand and harrowing:—but,—all is silence. Perceiving it, the mind recoils with a kind of terrified disappointment.

The tenth chapter describes to us the angel, with his right foot on the sea, and his left on the earth,—“and he raised his hand to heaven, and swore by Him, who lives for ages of ages, who created the heaven and all things which are therein, and the earth and all things which are therein, and the sea, and all things which are therein—that—time shall be no more.” This passage presents an image wonderfully sublime: but, has not the silence, mentioned in the former passage, still greater sublimity?

tain number of secular or regular priests,—employed by the bishop of the diocese to perform, what was termed a mission within a particular precinct. They generally remained in it about ten or fourteen days, at the expense of the bishop, or their own; and were wholly employed, from a very early to a very late hour of the day, in preaching and instructing the flock; in withdrawing them from idleness and irregularity, and exciting them to industry and piety, by every means that religion suggested to them.

“If,” says cardinal Maury,* “there remains among us any trace of the ancient and nervous eloquence, which is nothing else than the first cry of nature imitated, or repeated by art, it is in the missions among the villagers, that we must seek for examples of it. There, we shall find truly apostolical men, and real orators, gifted with a strong and bold imagination, acknowledging no other success than the conversions of repenting sinners; no other applause than their tears. Occasionally they fail in taste, and descend into too familiar details: I admit it, but they open a breach; but they force their way; but they place themselves in the midst of conscience; but they inflame the imagination; but they forcibly strike the senses; but the multitude follows, and listens to them with enthusiasm, and many of them have sublime passages.

“The missionary orator, most renowned in our days, was M. Bridaine. Highly gifted with popular eloquence, full of animation, abounding in figures and pathos, no one possessed, in an equal degree, the rare talent of commanding an assembled multitude. The organ of his voice was so powerful and happy, as to

* *Essai sur l'Eloquence de la Chaire*, s. xx.

“ render credible what ancient history relates of the de-
 “ clamation of the ancients ; he made himself as well heard
 “ in open air, to an assembly of 10,000 persons, as if he
 “ spoke under the vault of the most sonorous temple.
 “ In all he said, there might be discovered that natural
 “ eloquence, which originates from genius ; that bound of
 “ natural vigour, which is superior to any imitation. His
 “ bold metaphors ; his quick and vivid turns of thought
 “ and expression, equally surprised, affected and delight-
 “ ed. His eloquence was always simple, but it was al-
 “ ways noble in its simplicity. With these endowments,
 “ he never failed to raise and preserve the attention
 “ of the people ; they were never tired of listening to
 “ him.”

In 1751, he preached in the church of St. Sulpice,
 at Paris. His renown had preceded him ; and the tem-
 ple was filled with the highest dignitaries of the church
 and state, decorated with the various insignia of their
 ranks and orders. The venerable man ascended the
 pulpit, cast a look of indignation and pity on his audience,
 remained in silence for some moments, and then began
 his sermon in these words :—“ In the presence of an
 “ audience of a kind so new to me, it might, my brethren,
 “ be thought, that I should not open my mouth, without
 “ entreating your indulgence to a poor missionary, who
 “ does not possess any one of the talents, which you
 “ are pleased to require from those, who address you on
 “ the salvation of your souls. My feelings are very
 “ different. May God forbid, that any minister of the
 “ Gospel shall ever think he owes an apology for preach-
 “ ing Gospel truths to you ; for, whoever you are, you,
 “ like myself, are sinners, in the judgment of God. Till
 “ this day, I have published the judgments of the Most

“ High in the temples roofed with straw : I have preached the rigours of penance to an audience, most of whom wanted bread. I have proclaimed, to the simple inhabitants of the villages, the most terrible truths of religion.—Unhappy man !—what have I done ?—I have afflicted the poor, the best friends of my God. I have carried consternation and we into simple and honest bosoms, which I ought rather to have soothed and comforted.

“ But here !—where my eyes fall on the great, on the rich, on the oppressors of suffering humanity, or on bold and hardened sinners ; it is here,—in the midst of *these* scandals,—that I ought to make the holy word resound in all its thunders, and place on one side of me, death, that threatens you, and the great God, who is to judge us all. Tremble before me, ye proud, disdainful men, who listen to me ! Tremble ! for the abuse of favours of every kind, which God has heaped on you ! Think on the certainty of death : the uncertainty of its hour : how terrible it will be to you ! Think on final impenitence,—on the last judgment,—on the small number of the elect, and, above all, think on eternity ! These are the subjects upon which I shall discourse to you, and which, with the feelings I have mentioned, I ought to unfold to you all in all their terrors.”

“ Who,” exclaims cardinal Maury, “ does not feel, both while he reads, and after he has read such an exordium, how much this eloquence of the soul is beyond the cold pretensions of the elegant men, with which our pulpits are now filled ? Ye orators, who attend only to your own reputation, acknowledge here

"your master! Fall at the feet of this apostolic man, and learn, from a missionary priest, what is true eloquence."*

Most, perhaps, of those who read this passage, and others of a similar strain, will be inclined to join in the cardinal's exclamation. But the imitation of such passages is dangerous: the aspirant to pulpit eloquence may be, much more safely, recommended to give his days and nights to the pages of Bourdaloue.

The Reminiscent was present at a sermon, which the late Dr. Hussey, the Catholic bishop in Waterford, preached on the small number of the elect. Following Massillon, he asked, "Whether, if the arch of heaven were to open, and the Son of Man, bursting from the mercy, in which he is now enveloped, should stand in that chapel, and judge the hearers, it were quite certain that three,—that two,—nay, trembling for myself as well as for you! is it quite certain that even one of

* The abbé Caron has published the Life of M. Bridaine, and has inserted at the end of it a sermon preached by him in one of his missions. It is difficult to read it without being affected, or perceiving the impressions it would have, when delivered by the missionary preacher, with his known voice and gesture. A person, who attended the mission performed by him at Bagnole, wrote thus in a letter published at the end of the abbé's work, of the effect of one of the sermons preached by Bridaine on that occasion. "At the end of his sermon upon hell, he repeated thrice, in a tone of voice, which fell like thunder on his audience,—O ETERNITY!—At the third repetition of it, the auditors were so much affected, that they all remained motionless.

"Their grief for their sins was so profound, that, during the three days which immediately followed the mission, all the town remained in consternation and mournful silence. In the streets and public places, young and old were seen, lifting their eyes and hands to heaven, and crying aloud, MERCY! O LORD! MERCY!"

"us,"—he exclaimed in a voice of thunder,—“ would ‘be saved?’” During the whole of this apostrophe, the audience was agonized. At the ultimate interrogation, there was a general shriek, and some fell to the ground. This was the greatest triumph of eloquence which the Reminiscent ever chanced to witness : but it rather subdued than satisfied. It has been justly remarked, that the priest, having the invisible world on which to fix *his lever*, has the $\pi\sigma\ \sigma\omega$, which Archimedes wanted, and can therefore move *the visible diurnal sphere, and all that it inherit*, at his pleasure.

It is not easy to find a rival to any of the three sacred orators, whom we have mentioned; but the English Catholics certainly possess, in Dr. James Archer, one of uncommon merit. It has been his aim to satisfy reason, while he pleased, charmed, and instructed her; to impress on the mind just notions of the mysteries and truths of the Gospel; to draw practical lessons from them, and to show that the ways of virtue are the ways of pleasantness, and her paths the paths of peace. No one has returned from any of his sermons, without impressions favourable to religion, or without some instruction, which through life, probably in a few days, perhaps even in a few hours, it was useful for him to remember. When we recollect that this is nearly the fiftieth year of Mr. Archer's predication; that he has preached oftener than fifty-two times in every year; and that in the present, his hearers hang on all he says with the same avidity as they did in the first, we must think it difficult to name an individual to whose eloquence religion has been more indebted.

An excellent account of the pulpit eloquence of France is given in the *Essai sur l'Eloquence de la Chaire, of Car-*

dingal Maury, which we have already noticed. It was printed in 1810, in two volumes 8vo. and is intitled, "*Essai sur l'Eloquence de la Chaire ; Panégyriques, Eloques, et Discours, par son Eminence Monseigneur le Cardinal Maury, Arch-Evêque de Montefiascone et de Corneto, Membre de l'Institut Impérial, &c.*" It abounds with curious and useful information, and judicious criticism. But an Englishman, (however he may endure what his eminence says of the superiority of the French over the English in pulpit eloquence,) must smile at the following exclamation, which the cardinal archbishop addresses to the English nation, on the general merits of their oratory : " Illustrious Islanders ! I try to discover an orator, a real orator, among your sacred ministers, your writers, your members of parliament, of the highest celebrity. Be it said, without offence to your glory, I find no one among you worthy of that name." The intrepidity of this assertion is the more delightful, as, by the cardinal archbishop's own confession, he himself was wholly ignorant of the English language.

The Reminiscent cannot refuse himself the pleasure of returning to Bourdaloue.

When we recollect before whom he preached ; that he had, for his auditors, the most luxurious court in Europe, and a monarch abandoned to ambition and pleasure, we shall find it impossible not to honour the preacher, for the dignified simplicity with which he uniformly held up to his audience the severity of the Gospel, and the scandal of the cross. Now and then, and ever with a very bad grace, he makes an unmeaning compliment to the monarch. On these occasions, his genius appears to desert him ; but he never disguises the morality of the Gospel, or withholds its threats. In

One of the sermons which he preached before the monarch, he described, with infinite eloquence, the horrors of an adulterous life, its abomination in the eye of God, its scandal to man, and the public and private evils which attend it : but he managed his discourse with so much address, that he kept the king from suspecting that the thunder of the preacher was ultimately to fall upon him. In general, Bourdaloue spoke in a level tone of voice, and with his eyes almost shut. On this occasion, having wound up the attention of the monarch and the audience to the highest pitch, he paused. The audience expected something terrible, and seemed to fear the next word. The pause continued for some time : at length, the preacher, fixing his eyes directly on his royal hearer, and in a tone of voice equally expressive of horror and concern, said, in the words of the prophet, "*Thou art the man!*" then, leaving these words to their effect, he concluded with a mild and general prayer to heaven for the conversion of all sinners. A miserable courtier observed, in a whisper, to the monarch, that the boldness of the preacher exceeded all bounds, and should be checked. "No, sir," replied the monarch, "the preacher has done *his* duty, let us "do *ours*." When the service was concluded, the monarch walked slowly from the church, and ordered Bourdaloue into his presence. He remarked to him, his general protection of religion, the kindness which he had ever shown to the Society of Jesus, his particular attention to Bourdaloue and his friends. He then reproached him with the strong language of the sermon ; and asked him, what could be his motive for insulting him, thus publicly, before his subjects ? Bourdaloue fell on his knees : "God," he assured the

monarch, "was his witness, that it was not his wish to insult his majesty; but I am a minister of God," said Bourdaloue, "and must not disguise his truths. What I said in my sermon is my morning and evening prayer:—May God, in his infinite mercy, grant me to see the day, when the greatest of kings shall be the holiest."—The monarch was affected, and silently dismissed the preacher: but, from this time, the court began to observe that change which afterward, and at no distant period, led Lewis to a life of regularity and virtue.

Nothing is more affecting than the prayer, with which Massillon closed the last sermon which he made to Lewis the fifteenth, during his minority:—

"Great God! the giver of good kings! of that greatest blessing, which you can bestow on nations!

"You *still* hold in your hands the august child whom you have destined for our monarch.—His age, his innocence, *still* leave him the work of your mercies.—Great God! *as yet*,—there is time!—Form him for the happiness of the nation; to whom you have reserved him!—Make him a king after your own heart! Make him, O God! the father of your people; the protector of your church; the model of the morals of his subjects; the pacifier, rather than the conqueror of nations; the arbiter, rather than the terror of his neighbours. May all Europe be more envious of our happiness, and delighted with our virtues, than jealous of our conquests and our victories!"

Lessons of more pure or more useful morality were never offered from the pulpit to any monarch, than those which these sermons of Massillon exhibit. Surrounded as the monarch was, by all the blandishments of

a court, they must yet have produced some effect on his infant mind ; and instilled into it some invaluable principles of duty and religion :—Unfortunately, the tempters were on the watch, and the lessons of Massillon were soon forgotten.

XXV.

BIOGRAPHICAL ACCOUNT OF FÉNELON.

WITH the name of *Fénelon* the most pleasing ideas are associated. To singular elevation, both of genius and sentiment, he united extreme modesty and simplicity. Unconquerably firm in all that he considered a duty, he displayed, both on great and ordinary occasions, a meekness which nothing could discompose.—In the midst of a voluptuous court he practised the virtues of an anchorite : equally humble and elegant, severe to himself and indulgent to others, a mysterious holiness hangs on his character, and attracts our veneration ; while his misfortunes shed over him a tinge of distress, which excites our tenderest sympathy.

“ In one of his charitable walks,” says cardinal Maury, “ *Fénelon* met a peasant, still young, but plunged in the “ deepest affliction. He had recently lost a cow, the “ only support of his indigent family. *Fénelon* attempted “ to comfort him, and, by giving him money to buy “ another, alleviated his sorrow ; still, he had lost his “ own cow, and the tear continued to fall. Pursuing his “ journey, *Fénelon* found the very cow, which was the “ object of so much affliction ; and, like the good shepherd, he himself drove it back before him, in a dark “ night, to the young man’s cottage. This,” says the

cardinal Maury, "is perhaps the finest trait in Fénelon's life: we be to those, who read it without being affected. The virtues of Fénelon," continues the cardinal, "give his history something of the nature of remembrance; but his name will never die. The Flemings bless his memory, and call him the good archbishop."

In all French literature, there is nothing finer than the writings of Bossuet and Fénelon, in the course of their controversy; particularly the "*Relation du Quietisme*" of the former, and the "*Archbishop's Reply*." But they are little read: a lesson to authors never to waste their talents on transient topics.

In this sketch of the life of Fénelon, much is necessarily said on quietism. As quietism is an abuse of what is called, by Roman Catholic spiritualists, *mystical theology*, and without some notion of mystical theology, the nature of the errors of the quietists cannot be understood, the Reminiscent attempted to give a succinct view of it in that publication. It has since appeared in the *Retrospective Review*.

In considering the nature and operations of the intellectual powers, the Reminiscent has sometimes thought that the reciprocal action of the soul on the imagination, and of the imagination on the soul, without the intervention of the senses, has not been sufficiently considered; and that a philosophical perusal of some of the most eminent mystics would lead to useful observations on this very curious subject.

XXVI.

BIOGRAPHICAL ACCOUNT OF THE ABBOT DE RANCÉ—ST. VINCENT OF PAUL—HENRI MARIE DE BOUDON—AND THOMAS A KEMPIS.

1. IN the *Abbot de Rancé*, the reader will find an account of a holy monk, who revived, in the latter ages, the spirit, the devotion, and the practice of monastic discipline, when it was in its perfection and full vigour.

It has been frequently asserted, that the conversion of the abbot de Rancé was owing to the following romantic circumstance: A lady, it is said, of high rank, and great personal charms, attracted his affection: arriving at her house, late at night, he ran up a stair-case, which led to a room, in which she and her father usually sate at that hour: after tapping at the door, and hearing no reply, he softly opened it, and beheld her corpse. This supposed adventure has been frequently used, to

“Point a moral and adorn a tale.”

JOHNSON'S *Vanity of Human Wishes*.

But the Reminiscent believes he has shown, in his biographical account of the abbot, that there is great reason to suspect its truth.

Viewing the extreme austerities of the monks of La Trappe, one might conclude that they were the most miserable of human beings; but all who visited and dispassionately observed them, agreed, that their outward appearance led to a very different conclusion. It exhibited their habits of mortification and penance; but all had a look of serene piety and contentment, which charmed every beholder, and excited their veneration and love: those, who examined them most critically, were most sensible of their happiness.

2. The readers of the life of *St. Vincent of Paul*, will

probably agree with the Reminiscent in doubting, whether, at the day of general retribution, when every child of Adam will have to account for his works, even one will appear with more numerous deeds of heroic and useful charity.*

* The accuracy of this strong assertion has been thought questionable; the Reminiscent believes that all, who peruse his biographical account of St. Vincent's life, will be convinced of its perfect accuracy. His great melioration of the condition, both spiritual and temporal, of the French galley-slaves,—which led at no distant period to the total extirpation of that cruel infliction, was, perhaps, till Mr. Wilberforce's exertions for the abolition of the slave trade, the greatest victory ever obtained in the cause of humanity,—but it was one only of a multitude of heroic deeds of charity, by which St. Vincent endeared himself to God and man.

While the Reminiscent is on this subject, he cannot refuse himself the pleasure of noticing a class of persons, the number of whom, even in this wicked town, as it is called, he is authorized by his own experience and observation, to pronounce considerably greater than is generally thought,—humble and unpretending individuals, whose earliest and latest thought is,—what, according to the Gospel, should be the great end and aim of us all,—to increase in ourselves and others, the love of God and our neighbour; who become beggars for the poor; who enter into all their wants; are unceasingly employed in religious or charitable institutions for their welfare; who take on themselves the most irksome details, and unnoticed, and almost unseen, are their real support. In the great day of retribution, nothing of this will be forgotten by Him, who will then remember even a cup of cold water, given in His name. In the mean time they meet with nothing but coldness, repulse, opposition, and contumely. "Poor, suffering martyrs!" Bossuet exclaims, "persist in suffering this lowly martyrdom, without murmuring; and sincerely loving those who make you suffer. This was one of the distinctive marks of Jesus Christ; and you have the honour of bearing it. For whom I am writing this, I know not; I have none particularly in view, but I know there are many such. Dear to them indeed should be their humiliations, whatever they are, and whatever occasions them."

3. The life of *Henri Marie de Boudon*, shows a pious priest, at once contemplative and active, and humbly exerting, within the limits of a single diocese, the most edifying acts of clerical duty.

These distinguished characters adorned the church of France during the period we have mentioned.

4. But the great ornament of the church of France was her *curés*.

It may be truly said, that the French *curé** was truly the father of his flock. There was not within his parish, a subject of joy or distress, in which he did not feelingly participate.

“Le pauvre l’allait voir, et révérait heureux.”

VOLT. *Henriade*.

Generally speaking, his income was small. If it fell short of what the French law termed the *portion congrue*, about 18*l.* a year of our money,—but taking into calculation the relative value of specie, and the relative price of provisions, about 60*l.* a year of it, in its present worth,—the state made good the deficiency. It is evident, that, with such an income, the *curé* could spare little. Whatever it was, he gave it cheerfully, thriftily, and wisely: and the soothing word, the compassionate look, or the active exertion to serve, was never wanting. In the house of mourning, the *curé* was always seen: the greatest comfort of the aged, was to perceive him enter their door. The young never enjoyed their mirth or

* It is to be observed, that the word “*curé*,” which is always translated, in our language, by the word “*curate*,” had not in France the meaning which the word “*curate*,” bears in England. It rather corresponded with the word “*rector*,” as it denoted the actual incumbent of the parsonage, not, as it does with us, a person appointed by the rector to discharge his ecclesiastical functions.

pastime so much, as when they saw him stand near them and smile. But the curé never forgot that he was a minister of God : The discharge of his functions, particularly of his sacred ministry, at the altar, was at once the pride and the happiness of his life. There scarcely was a curé, who did not thoroughly instruct the children of his parish in their catechism, and his whole flock in their duties ; or one who did not officiate on every Sunday and holiday at the morning and evening service, or who did not regularly attend his poor parishioners through their illnesses, and prepare them, in their last moments, for their passage into eternity. The last act of the curé's life was to commend his flock to God, and to beg his blessing on them. In every part of France, the peasant spoke of him as his best friend ; "*Notre bon curé*," was his universal appellation. This is not an exaggerated picture of those venerable men : their merit was at once so transcendent, and so universally recognized, as to defy calumny. On every other rank of men, the philosophers and wittings of France exhausted abuse and ridicule ; but they left untouched the worthy and edifying curé. Voltaire himself, in more passages than one of his works, pays due homage to their useful and unpretending virtue.

In his *Essay on the Eloquence of the Pulpit*, cardinal Maury mentions, that, when he was collecting materials for it, he found that the abbé de Radonvilliers had a general reputation of being uncommonly charitable ; but that he could discover no particular instances of his charity, till it occurred to him to apply to the curé of the parish of St. Roche, with whom the abbé was known to be intimate. From him the cardinal learned, that the abbé regularly gave one-fourth of his ecclesiastical revenue

to the poor of the places in which it arose : that, during the last thirty-three years of his life, he sent one hundred guineas monthly to the poor of the parish of St. Roche, and also had a weekly account of charity with the curé, for uncommon objects of relief; an application for whom the curé declared, he had never known the abbé to reject. The abbé's own expenses were limited to one-fourth of his income. What filled the measure, and sanctified the merit of his great charities, is, that they were concealed, and only known to God and the very few persons who were concerned for their distribution.

All the furniture of a late curé de St. Sulpice, who had the richest curacy in France, consisted of a bed, a table and a few chairs. Cardinal Maury relates, that when the curé de St. Roche refused to take the oath of adherence to the civil constitution of the clergy, he convened a meeting of some of the principal parishioners to verify his accounts,—and that the celebrated M. Bailly, the mayor of Paris, attended the meeting. The curé produced his accounts; it appeared by them, that the charitable subscriptions of the preceding year, all which were purely voluntary, amounted to 130,000 French livres; and for every farthing of it the curé accounted most satisfactorily. All these charities were absolutely private; and if the circumstance, which has been mentioned, had not brought them into notice, would have remained unknown.

4. The Reminiscent's admiration of the celebrated "*Imitation of Christ*,"—(he wishes he could add, his practice of its rules,)—induced him to commit to paper, from the best materials he could find, the life of *Thomas à Kempis*, its reputed and most probable author.

His claim to it is, however, problematical, and has given rise to more than one hundred and fifty publications. The controversy has been recently revived in France, and carried on with great learning and spirit. The highest encomium which any book has yet received, was pronounced on this little work by Fontenelle,*—"C'est le livre le plus beau qui soit sorti de la main d'un homme, puisque l'évangile n'en vient pas." "It is," says Leibniz, "one of the most excellent treatises that have been composed.—Happy is he, who puts its contents into practice, and is not satisfied with merely admiring them."

The translation of the *Imitation* by *Wesley* or *Paine* is greatly to be preferred to *Stanhope's*: that of the late *Dr. Challoner* is, or should be, in the hands of every Roman Catholic. A very learned and curious treatise on the *Imitation*, and the French translations of it, was published at Paris, in the year 1812, intituled, *Dissertation sur soixante Traductions Françaises de l'Imitation de Jesus Christ, dédiée à sa Majesté l'Impératrice et Reine. Par Ant. Alex. Barbier, Bibliothécaire de sa Majesté l'Empereur et Roi, et de son Conseil d'Etat. Suivie de considérations sur la question relative à l'auteur de l'Imitation.*

XXVII.

BIOGRAPHICAL ACCOUNT OF THE REVEREND ALBAN BUTLER—CONTINUATION OF HIS LIVES OF THE SAINTS.

IT remains for the Reminiscent to mention his life of the *Rev. Mr. Alban Butler*, and to say with Tacitus,† "*Hic liber memoriae patrum mei destinatus, aut laudatus erit aut excusatus.*" *Mr. Alban Butler's Lives of the*

* *Elôge de Corneille.*

† *In vitâ Agricola.*

Saints, though a voluminous work,—(12 vols. 8 vo.)—has undergone numerous editions: two different translations of it into the French language have been published; it has also been translated into Spanish, and the Reminiscent believes, into the Italian languages. Several abridgments of it have been published. The only objection made to it is, its alleged admission of too many miracles and visions. To those, who deny the existence of miracles, we do not now address ourselves,—all other *Christians* may be confidently asked, on what principle they admit the evidence for the miracles of the three first centuries, and reject the miracles of the subsequent ages? Why they deny to St. Austin, St. Gregory, the venerable Bede, or St. Bernard, the confidence which they place in Justin, St. Irenæus, Theodoret, or Eusebius?

The last volume of the *Lives of the Saints*, which appeared in the life-time of Mr. Alban Butler, was published in 1759. A continuation of it being loudly called for both in England and the continent, the Reminiscent published, in the present year,—“*A continuation of the Rev. Alban Butler’s lives of the Saints to the present time, with some biographical accounts of the Holy Family, Pope Pius the sixth, Cardinal Ximenes, Cardinal Bellarmine, Bartholomew de Martyribus, and St. Vincent of Paul;—with a re-publication of Historical Memoirs of the Society of Jesus.*” Oct. 1823.

The style of the “*Lives of the Saints*” is excellent; it partakes more of that of the writers of the seventeenth century, than that of the modern style of writing. Mr. Gibbon mentioned it to the Reminiscent in warm terms of commendation, and was astonished when he heard how much of the life of Mr. Alban Butler had been spent abroad. Speaking of the “*Lives of the Saints*,”

he calls it "a work of merit, the sense and learning belong to the author, his prejudices are those of his profession." As it is known what prejudice means in Mr. Gibbon's vocabulary, Mr. Alban Butler's relatives accept the character.

XXVIII.

BIOGRAPHICAL ACCOUNT OF THE CHANCELLOR L'HÔPITAL :
AND OF THE CHANCELLOR D'AGUESSEAU,—WITH A SHORT
HISTORICAL NOTICE OF THE MISSISSIPPI SCHEME.

XXVIII. 1.

The Chancellor L'Hôpital.

THIS venerable magistrate, elegant scholar, and excellent man, has been always considered in France, as one of the greatest personages, whom the nation has produced. On the Reminiscent's intimating to the late sir Samuel Romilly, that he was in want of a literary hobby,—(the horse, the Englishman's friend, has never employed much of his time,)—for his amusement in the long vacation, which was just opening to them, that eminent and amiable person recommended the life of L'Hôpital to his attention, and furnished him with some materials for its composition. It is gratifying to the Reminiscent to recollect that, when he presented the result of his labours to sir Samuel, it received the honour of his approbation.

It is observable that, in the literature of France, panegyrics and funeral orations fill a considerable space : those, who are most disposed to contest her claim to universal pre-eminence in the belles-lettres, acknowledge that, in these branches of eloquence, she has com-

siderably excelled all her literary rivals. Few works of taste or genius are more admired than the funeral orations of *Bossuet*: those of *Fléchier* are of an inferior cast; but, after its twentieth perusal, his oration on the death of Turenne will again be perused with pleasure. The *éloges* of distinguished academicians, by *Fonténelle* and *d'Alembert* do not aspire to eloquence; they profess no more than to give a short view of the lives of the authors whom they celebrate, a very summary account of their principal works, and a slight mention of the events in the literary world, with which, in some manner or other, they were connected. The former are reproached for too frequent prettiness; the latter, for a general tameness of manner; but both occasionally abound in touches of great delicacy, and are so agreeably written, that we doubt whether any reader has perused a single *éloge* composed by either, without lamenting its brevity.

With these works, however, our praise of French panegyric must close. About the middle of the last century a new field was opened to it, by the prizes, which the academy then began to hold out to those, who should produce the best panegyric of the hero, (for they were never less than literary heroes,)—whom the academy assigned for the theme of praise. This set all the wits of France at work: but the result was not very favourable to their reputation. The number of these encomiastic performances, which obtained the approbation of the public, is very small; if any are now read, they are the *éloges* composed by *M. Thomas*. The notes, with which he has accompanied them, are interesting; and, if his incessant attempts, in the text, at the sublime, generally fail, they also sometimes succeed.

Thus, in his *éloge* of the emperor Marcus Aurelius, he mentions the celebrated expression of the emperor Titus,—“ I have lost a day ; for during this day, I have “ done good to none.”—“ What dost thou say ?” exclaims the orator,—“ The day, in which those words were pronounced, was not lost ; on no day wast thou so great, “ or so useful to the world, as when thou gavest that eternal lesson to kings.” In this passage there is both sense and grandeur ; but in the writings of its author such passages are not often found.

The magistrate, whose life is the subject of the present article, was proposed by the French Academy in the year 1777, for the subject of an *éloge*. *M. Guibert* and *l'abbé Rémi* contended for the prize. It was adjudged to the latter ; but he had the good sense not to print his work. *M. Guibert* was less prudent ; his performance appeared in print soon after the prize was assigned ; but, though it was evidently the production of a scholar of Voltaire, both Voltaire and la Harpe, his echo, expressed their contempt of it. The celebrated Condorçet afterward entered the lists, but with equal want of success. In 1807, *M. Bernardi* published his “ *Essai sur la Vie, les Ecrits, et les Loix de Michel de l'Hôpital, Chancelier de France,*” in one volume octavo. It is written with taste and judgment ; and places the magistrate both in an amiable and a respectable point of view ; but it relates more to his private and literary life, than his public character. Of this, a very good account had been given in the “ *Vie du Chancelier l'Hôpital,*” published by an anonymous French writer, in 1764. Many interesting particulars of l'Hôpital are to be found in *Brantome* ; Bayle has assigned to him an article in his dictionary. From these publications, the

Reminiscent composed the biographical essay which is the subject of the present notice.

From the time of l'Hôpital's elevation to the office of chancellor till the moment when the seals were taken from him, he laboured incessantly in the glorious cause of religious liberty. As it usually happened, he offended the zealots of each party; but he persevered: and, though he met with great opposition, his efforts were not wholly without success. Through his influence, many edicts were procured which protected the lives and fortunes of Protestants, and ensured to them, under certain restrictions, the free exercise of their religion. On one occasion, when it was agitated in council, whether war should be declared against the Huguenots, and l'Hôpital spoke against it with much eloquence, "It does not," the connétable de Montmorency said to him, "become you, gentlemen of the long robe, to give your opinions on matters of war."—"It is true," replied l'Hôpital, "that we are ignorant of the art of war; yet we know when it is wise or prudent to declare it."

The salutary edicts, which, during the wars of religion in France, were occasionally passed in favour of the Huguenots, were principally owing to the influence of l'Hôpital. The last of these edicts was completely liberal: and such were its salutary effects, that the political adventurers among the leaders of the Calvinists could not conceal the vexation which it gave them.—"This single stroke of a pen," they said, "is the ruin of more of our churches, than armies would have destroyed in ten years."

This was immediately seen: the insurgents returned to their duty, and Catholics and Protestants vied in demonstrations of loyalty to their royal master, and in zeal

for his service. The English having taken the town of Havre, the king and queen-mother proceeded in person to retake it, and were received by the army who besieged it, with acclamations of joy. On one occasion, the chancellor remarked to them the ardour and bravery of the troops in mounting a breach :—" Which of them," he asked the monarch, " are your Catholic, which, your Protestant subjects ? Which, among the troops whom you behold, are your bravest soldiers, your best servants ? All are equally brave and good. This is the effect of the edict, so much blamed by some ! See how it reunites the royal family ! restores to us our brothers, our relations and friends ? It leads us out, hand in hand, against our common enemy ; and makes him feel how respectable we are for virtue and power, when united among ourselves."

L'Hôpital generally spent his vacations in the country ; he there banished the cares of magistracy from his thoughts, and strove, by harmless relaxation, to enable himself, on the return of the season of business, to resume the exercise of his functions with fresh vigour. " But," says he, " there is nothing frivolous in my amusements : sometimes Xenophon is the companion of my walks : sometimes the divine Plato regales me with the discourses of Socrates. History and poetry have their turns : but my chief delight is in the sacred writings : what comfort, what holy calm, does the meditation of them confer !"

XXVIII. 2.

The Chancellor d'Aguesseau.

AFTER an interval of 150 years, l'Hôpital had a successor in his high office of chancellor, whose character

is so truly amiable and respectable, that we believe our readers will not be displeased at having a short view of it presented to them in the present pages.

Henry Francis d'Aguesseau, afterward chancellor of France, was born in 1668. His father, Henry d'Aguesseau, was councillor of state and intendant of the province of Limousin. In that important and delicate situation, he gave equal satisfaction to the monarch and the people. He disapproved of the revocation of the edict of Nantes, and, that he might not witness the scenes of vexation and misery, to which it gave rise, resigned his office, and buried himself in solitude. From this time, he dedicated himself to the education of his son. The future chancellor was ardent and indefatigable in the acquisition of knowledge: he was complete master of his own language, and of the Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Italian, Spanish, and English languages; to him, as to our countrymen sir William Jones, the acquisition of a language was so easy, that, to use the chancellor's own words, it served him for a pastime. Through life, he was fond of poetry: the society of Boileau and Racine was his greatest relaxation.

At the age of twenty-one years, he was appointed, with the universal approbation of the public, to the charge of king's advocate at the châtelet, and, after a few months, to the charge of king's advocate in the parliament. His first exertions were so brilliant, that the celebrated Denis Talôn, then president à Mortier, declared, "he would be satisfied with ending as that young man began." At the end of ten years he was advanced to the higher office of king's attorney-general in the parliament. He filled its duties with unblemished honour, and a marked superiority of talent. By his means, great

reformation of the hospitals was introduced, legal process was amended, and the criminal code reformed. During the long wars and famines, with which the latter years of the reign of Louis the fourteenth were visited, he exerted himself to find food and employment for the poor, and to lessen the frauds and expenses in the collection of the taxes. This brought him into frequent habits of intercourse with the monarch ; and from this time, he was consulted on all difficult points in the internal administration of the kingdom, and on all important state papers. On one occasion, he opposed a favourite measure of the court, and it was supposed that he would be disgraced ; he was summoned to Versailles by an angry message,—“Go,”—his wife said to him,—“and while “you are before the king, forget your wife, forget your “children, lose every thing but your honour.” In 1717, he was appointed by the duke of Orleans, the regent, to the office of chancellor ; but, for opposing Law’s famous Mississippi scheme, the seals were taken from him in the following year. The bubble quickly burst, and government became so embarrassed, and fell into such odium, that, with a view to soothe the irritation of the public mind, d’Aguesseau was recalled, and the seals restored to him. A memorable consultation then took place : it was debated in council, whether the state should pay the national creditors, as far as its resources extended, or retain them and declare itself bankrupt : most of the royal advisers, inclined to the latter operation ; but the chancellor contended strenuously for the former ; he observed, that what was dishonourable, never proved expedient ; and finally brought over the council to his opinion. But the favour of the chancellor at the corrupt court of the regent could not be long :—he was disgraced

within the year after his return, and ordered to remain at his estate at Frésnes. He then gave his attention to general jurisprudence, and the branches of legislation immediately connected with it. He was recalled in 1727, and allowed to discharge his office,—but the seals were not restored to him till after a period of ten years ; and he never regained the favour of the court, so that his recal was considered as a necessary sacrifice which the court unwillingly made to public opinion. He projected several legal reforms equally important and salutary, and conceived the noble design of rendering the administration of justice *gratuitous* throughout the kingdom. This may be thought visionary ; but the papers containing an outline of the chancellor's plan having been preserved by his son, the execution of it was seriously thought of by the ministry which succeeded the duke de Choiseuil.

Though the reforms and improvements proposed by the chancellor, did not take place to their full extent, many were partially effected. Before they were proposed in council, they were deliberately discussed by the chancellor, by several magistrates, and by some other distinguished personages : then, they were laid before the council, with a memorial, succinctly stating the nature of the proposed regulations, the mischiefs which they were intended to remedy, and the good which they were intended to produce ;—new deliberations took place, and after these they were promulgated. Thus were framed the *Ordonnances* in the reign of Louis the fifteenth,—on marine affairs, on donations, on wills, on substitutions or entails, on frauds, on appeals, for regulating the processes of the courts, for consolidating different courts of justice, and for settling the objects of their jurisdiction,

When any of these ordonnances were published, the chancellor generally procured some judicial writer of acknowledged ability, to publish a succinct and perspicuous commentary upon it, in order to explain to the public, and particularly to legal practitioners, its practical effects. All the ordonnances which we have mentioned, were received in France with universal applause, and attended with the most beneficial results. The first,—or the *Ordonnance sur la Marine*, has been the most known out of that kingdom. The wisdom of its provisions, and the precision with which they are expressed, were frequently mentioned by the late Mr. sergeant Hill, in terms of the highest praise.

We have noticed the chancellor's attachment to polite literature. This was his ornament in prosperity, his refuge in adverse fortune, the soother of his mind in the vexations and wearisomeness of professional and official duty, and the restoration of its energies after fatigue, to new freshness and elasticity. It is mentioned by all his biographers, that, from his earliest youth to the close of his life, he never let a day pass without reading a portion of the scriptures : a large part of his voluminous writings is dedicated to sacred subjects. One of the greatest objects of his life was to give his children a good education, by impressing indelibly on their minds, the true principles of religion, virtue, and honour.

In his eightieth year, finding himself unequal to the discharge of his office, he tendered his resignation of it to the king : the monarch unwillingly accepted it,—continued to him all its honours, and settled on him for his life, a yearly pension of one hundred thousand livres,—about 4,800*l.* of English money, but nearly double the amount of that sum, if we consider the relative value of

money, and relative prices of vendible commodities in the two kingdoms, at that time and the present.

He died in 1751 :—By his own desire he was buried in the church-yard of his parish, under a simple cross. Lewis the fifteenth caused a magnificent monument, in the form of an obelisk, to be erected to his memory, near to the place in which he was buried. It was destroyed at the beginning of the French revolution ; it has since been restored at the public expense : and in 1810, statues of both the illustrious characters, to which this article is assigned,—l'Hôpital and d'Aguesseau,—were placed in parallel positions before the peristyle of the legislative palace. The works of d'Aguesseau have been published in thirteen volumes, quarto. The first volume, which contains his instructions to his son for the study of the law, and the last, which contains his life of his father, and some curious memoirs respecting the religious feuds by which France was distracted, toward the end of the reign of Lewis the fourteenth, will be found by an English reader to be the most interesting. His "*Dissertation on the Mistakes of Law*," and "*Selections from his Legal Arguments*," have been translated and published by Mr. Evans ;* and may be read by English lawyers with pleasure, and not without profit, if their professional studies lead them to any of the subjects which the chancellor discusses.

The only fault imputed to d'Aguesseau was dilatoriness of decision : we should hear his own apology. The general feeling of the public on this head, was once respectfully communicated to him by his son : "My child," said the chancellor, "when you shall have read what I

* In the second volume of his translation of Pothier's celebrated "*Treatise on the law of Obligations and Contracts*."

" have read, seen what I have seen, and heard what I
 " have heard, you will feel, that if, on any subject you
 " know much, there may be also much that you do not
 " know ; and that something even of what you know,
 " may not, at the moment, be in your recollection :—
 " You will then too, be sensible of the mischievous and
 " often ruinous consequences, of even a small error in a
 " decision ; and conscience, I trust, will then make you
 " as doubtful, as timid, and consequently as dilatory, as I
 " am accused of being."

XXVIII. 3.

The Mississippi Scheme of Law.

We have noticed the opposition of d'Aguesseau to
 Law's Mississippi project: A summary mention in this
 place of its rise and fall may not be unacceptable to our
 readers.

In May, 1716, a bank was established in favour of the
 celebrated John Law, of Lauriston, in North Britain: it
 consisted of twelve hundred shares of 5,000 livres. In
 January, 1718, the regent reimbursed the proprietors,
 and took the bank into the hands of the crown: it then
 received the name of the *Royal Bank*: it was placed
 under the direction of Law. It prospered, and produced
 a general taste, in France, particularly in the capital, for
 paper money. Speculating upon this, Law formed a
 scheme for establishing a great commercial company:
 all the privileges, possessions, and efforts of the foreign
 trading companies were to be transferred to it; the re-
 venue of the crown was to be vested in it; the royal
 bank was to be attached to it; the whole province of
 Louisiana was to be granted to it; the name of "*The*

"*Company of the West*," was to be given it; and Law was to govern it. The regent acquiesced in the plan, established the company, and conferred on it all that Law solicited. From the river Mississippi, on which the province of Louisiana lies, the project obtained the appellation of "*The Mississippi scheme*." By subsequent patents, the regent granted to the company the right of exclusive trade to China, and every part of the East Indies: this gave it the name of "*The Company of the Indies*."

It was held out to the public that these enormous possessions and power would enable the company to achieve speculations in commerce, which would rapidly bring the whole wealth of the world into its hands, and entitle the shareholders to dividends, far exceeding the greatest gains of the most successful adventurer in those or former times. The company actually announced a dividend of two hundred *per cent*. The delusion became general, and rose to such a height, that, in September, 1721, the price of shares was more than sixty times that for which they had originally sold, and the bank lent money, on the slightest security, at two *per cent*. The delusion continued till the 21st of the following May. During this period the public creditors were paid with bank notes, and the former securities given them by the king were with drawn and annulled. But, on that memorable day, an *arrêt royal* revealed the true nature of the bubble: the paper fabric was instantaneously blown away, and on the following day,—the 22d of May,—a man might have starved, with paper for one hundred millions in his pocket.

The general result was, that an immense number of individuals were ruined, and the greatest part of them

reduced to the most abject poverty ; but the state was a gainer. The interest of the national debt, when the scheme was first adopted, amounted to eighty millions of French livres ;—it was reduced by the paper operations to fifty-seven millions : the twenty-three millions, which made the difference, was the gain of the state.

Sir James. Stuart, in his "Inquiry into the Wealth of " Nations," offers some ingenious arguments to prove that there are not sufficient grounds to impute deliberate villany either to the regent or to Law ; that the scheme, as it was planned by the latter, was not substantially defective, and that its failure was owing to the unwise councils, by which the plans of Law were overruled.

Near to the time of which we have been speaking, England, unfortunately, had its bubbles ; but not to the same extent as that by which France had suffered. A curious account of these, and of the fall of the South-Sea stock and subscriptions, is given by Mr. Anderson in the third volume of his "History of Trade and Commerce." It is to be hoped that posterity will not receive a similar chapter on the *Foreign Loans* now or recently in the market.

XXIX.

LETTER ON ANCIENT AND MODERN MUSIC.

DURING his foreign education, the Reminiscent acquired some notion of the theory of music, and received some instruction in the practice of the harpsichord. At the house of lord Sandwich, his early introduction to which he has mentioned, music was the order of the day. From these circumstances, and in consequence of his having, as he believes, a natural taste for it, the few

absolutely idle hours, with which he has to reproach himself, have been given to this pleasing science ; they have increased his knowledge of it, and he has obtained some acquaintance of its history. Mr. Salomon paid him the great compliment of saying, that “ he was among the “ seven best listeners to music he had known.” To Salomon’s own performance he certainly always listened with delight. He had, however, long abandoned music altogether, when an accidental circumstance recalled his thoughts to it, and occasioned his committing to paper, during a long vacation, “ *A letter to a lady on ancient and “ modern music.*” As it has never been printed separately, we shall insert it in the Appendix.*

XXX.

THE BLUE BOOKS—AND SOME MISCELLANEOUS PUBLICATIONS ON THE CONCERNS OF THE ROMAN CATHOLICS.

THE Reminiscent also appeared as an author, during the disputes which took place among the Roman Catholics, respecting the act which was passed for their relief in 1791 :—they gave occasion to the publications intituled “ *The Blue Books.*”

The Reminiscent has given in his *Historical Memoirs of the English Catholics*, a succinct account of these disputes :—he has now only to mention some publications, occasioned by them, in which he was partially concerned.

In the course of this controversy, the members of the committee of the English Catholics thought themselves obliged, on several occasions, to address in print, some-

* APPENDIX, Note VI.

times the vicars apostolic, and sometimes the Catholic public at large, in order to explain and justify their conduct.

1. The Reminiscent had previously, with the express permission of bishop James Talbot, addressed to the vicars apostolic, a letter on the subject of the protestation and the oath formed upon it.—This was never printed, and has been seen by few; being bound in red, it acquired the appellation of the *Red Book*.

2. The *Blue Books* acquired this appellation from their having had a covering of that colour.*

The first,—contains a letter from the committee to the Catholics of England, dated the 25th of November, 1790:—and one from the committee to the four apostolic vicars, of the same date:

The second Blue Book contains two letters from the committee,—the first to Dr. Douglas; the second to Dr. Walmesley, Dr. Gibson, and Dr. Douglas, the three vicars apostolic who objected to the oath; neither Dr. Thomas Talbot, the other English vicar apostolic, nor Dr. Charles Berrington, his coadjutor, thought it objectionable:

The third Blue Book contains a letter from the committee to the Catholics of England, dated the 21st of April, 1792.

All were written by the reverend Mr. Joseph Wilkes, a Benedictine monk, and the Reminiscent, with great care; all were most seriously and attentively perused by all the noblemen and gentlemen who signed them.

They were circulated extensively among the English

* By the Italians, who had occasion to mention them, they were called *livri turchini*. This gave occasion to a ridiculous mistake of a divine, more pious than learned in the Italian language. He read the words *livri torchini*, and construed them to mean books that were *torches* of heterodoxy!

Catholics ; but the Catholic committee cautiously abstained from circulating them among the Scottish or Irish Catholics. They were not sold, till the first and second of them were re-published for sale in 8vo. by Stockdale, in 1812. The Reminiscent has never heard, nor has he any guess, who was the editor.

3. The *Buff Book* was another publication to which this controversy gave rise ; it acquired that appellation from the colour of its cover. It contains a report which some respectable gentlemen, who assumed the amiable office of peace-makers in these differences, made of their proceedings and their result.

A further mention of this controversy does not suit these pages : but the Reminiscent begs leave to add, that, in the last of the Blue Books, the committee announced their resolution of quitting the controversy altogether, and that they and all their advocates have adhered most rigidly to this resolution.

It was impossible for the Reminiscent not to mention this dispute in his "*Historical Memoirs* ;" but he has the satisfaction of knowing that his readers think he could not have done it in fewer lines, or in terms which less provoked discussion.

On some other occasions, the Reminiscent has advocated in print the cause of the Roman Catholics. 1. In 1795, he published an "*Historical Account of the Laws respecting Roman Catholics*," 8vo. since reprinted : 2. In 1801, he published a "*Letter to an Irish Nobleman*," 8vo. on the subject of the penal laws against the Irish Roman Catholics : 3. And in 1803, an "*Address to the Roman Catholics in Ireland*," 8vo. The object of this address was to show the futility of the arguments, which some agitators of the public troubles in

that kingdom, had used, to induce the Roman Catholics to join the troops of Napoleon, in case of an invasion. His late majesty's ministers were so satisfied with this publication that they caused a large impression of it to be distributed in the parts of the kingdom that were supposed to be most inclined to disaffection : 4. "*A Letter to an Irish Gentleman on the Fifth Resolution of the English Catholics, at their Meeting of the 31st of January, 1810.*" This fifth resolution was, by strange misconception, considered to be an adoption of the Veto, or negative power in the election of bishops, which the prelates of Ireland had, in their resolutions of 1799, expressed a willingness to admit, but afterward declared to be "inexpedient." The object of the pamphlet of the Reminiscent, was, not to advocate the Veto—but to show, (what is most certainly the fact,) that the Fifth Resolution did not pledge the English Catholics to the Veto, or to any one specific measure of any description : 5. In 1822, while Mr. Canning's bill,—for rendering it unnecessary for peers to take the oath of supremacy, and to make and subscribe the declaration against transubstantiation and popery, contained in the 30th of Charles the second, previously to their sitting and voting in the house of lords,—was pending in parliament, the Reminiscent published *An Inquiry whether the Declaration against Transubstantiation, contained in that Act, could be conscientiously taken by any sincere Protestant.* If it can be conscientiously taken, it must be with a considerable latitude of interpretation.

XXXI.

MISCELLANEOUS ARTICLE.

BEFORE the Reminiscent proceeds to the article which closes the present publication, he begs leave to submit to his readers some observations, which have, at different times been the subject of his literary musings : they principally relate to, 1. The eras of Greek, Roman, Saracenic, and French Literature : 2. The era of British Literature : 3. The comparative excellence of the writers during that era, and the writers of the age of Louis the fourteenth : 4. The present general diffusion of learning among all ranks of persons in Great Britain : 5. And particularly its general diffusion among the British ladies : 6. He will then suggest an historical work on the grand Manichean conspiracy, which began in the third century, and has from that time been always more or less in activity ; has wonderfully convulsed our own age, and will probably agitate many of the years which are to come.

XXXI. 1.

The Eras of Greek, Roman, Saracenic, and French Literature.

EVERY learned reader is aware that history presents several eras, in which the powers of the human mind have been eminently displayed in various branches of knowledge. 1. Among these, may be reckoned the age of *Homer* : his poems are the only memorial of it which have reached us : but it is impossible that they should have been the single instance of genius and taste produced during the period, in which that poet lived : 2. The next may, (but with great laxity of chronology,)

be called the *age of Philip and Alexander* :* 3. The *age of Ptolemy Philadelphus*, king of Egypt, follows ; it is not often mentioned, but it produced Theocritus, Apollonius Rhodius, many persons eminent in art, and

* " The author of the *Adventurer*, No. 127, (Mr. Joseph Warton, concealed under the signature of Z.) concludes his ingenious parallel of the ancients and moderns, with the following remark :—' That age will never again return, when a Pericles, after walking with Plato in a portico built by Phidias and painted by Apelles, might repair to hear a pleading of Demosthenes, or a tragedy of Sophocles.' It will never return, because it never existed. Pericles, who died in the fourth year of the eighty-ninth Olympiad, (ant. Chr. 429 ; Dio. Siculus, xii. 46.) was confessedly the patron of Phidias, and the contemporary of Sophocles ; but he could enjoy no very great pleasure in the conversation of Plato, who was born the same year that he himself died. (Diogenes Laertius in Platone, V. Stanley's *History of Philosophy*, p. 154.) The error is still more extraordinary, with regard to Apelles and Demosthenes, since both the painter and the orator survived Alexander the Great, whose death is above a century posterior to that of Pericles, (in 323.) And, indeed, though Athens was the seat of every liberal art from the days of Themistocles to those of Demetrius Phalereus, yet no particular era will afford Mr. Warton the complete synchronism he seems to wish for ; as tragedy was deprived of her famous triumvirate before the arts of philosophy and eloquence had attained the perfection which they soon after received from the hands of Plato, Aristotle, and Demosthenes." Gibbon's *Miscellaneous Works*, vol. v. p. 566.

Those few lines of Mr. Gibbon show learning, accurate observation, and felicity of expression : in a passage in his own great work, (ch. xl.) he produces a synchronism much happier than that which he censures. " Our sense of the dignity of human nature is," he says, " exalted by the simple recollection, that Isocrates was the companion of Plato and Xenophon ; that he assisted, perhaps, with the historian Thucydides, at the first representations of the *Œdipus* of Sophocles, and the *Iphigenia* of Euripides ; and his pupils *Æschines* and *Demosthenes* contended for the crown of patriotism in the presence of Aristotle."

science, and one, certainly, of the most important works of antiquity, the Greek version of the Old Testament, usually termed the Septuagint : 4. The *Augustan age* is illustrated by names familiar to every classical reader : 5. The *Saracenic period*, or the *era of the Omniades* ;— “ the flourishing ages,” as they are described by Mr. Swinburn, “ of Arabian gallantry and magnificence, “ which rendered the Moors of Spain superior to all “ their contemporaries, in arts and arms, and made Cordova one of the most splendid cities of the world. “ Cordova was the centre of politeness, taste, and genius ; tilts and tournaments, with other costly shows, “ were long the darling pastimes of a wealthy, happy “ people ; and this was the only kingdom of the west, “ where geometry, astronomy, and physic were regularly studied and practised.”* 6. The *age of Julius the second*, and *Leo the tenth*, so admirably illustrated by Mr. Ruscoe, in his *Lives of Lorenzo de Medici and Leo*. The Reminiscent has sometimes thought that an interesting history of the revival of literature in this age might be formed, by supposing a literary tour on the plan of “ *The Travels of Anacharsis the Younger*.” A young Sarmathian, initiated in the classics by some German or Italian, whom war or commerce had carried beyond the Vistula, might make his way into Italy ; and, after much wandering, become the commensal of Erasmus at Basle, and remain with him, but with a liberal allowance for casual excursions, until his decease : then he might resume his wanderings, visit England and Scotland, and spend his last days with Grotius. Much, of course, he should see, read, and hear ; and all he saw, read, or,

* Travels through Spain, p. 230.

heard, he should communicate to some favoured correspondent, who, after the decease of his friend, should publish his letters with notes. Such a work from a pen of taste, learning, and industry, would be even more interesting than that of Barthélemi, and find its way to every school, every library, and almost every toilette in Europe. How grateful to men of letters would it be to hear that Mr. Hallam was engaged on such a work! 7. *The age of Louis the fourteenth*, is yet the glory of France. With the single exception of music, every art and science, every branch of elegant or profound literature, was then cultivated in that kingdom, by persons, to whom the public opinion of all Europe has uniformly assigned a lofty place in the temple of fame.

XXXI. 2.

The Era of British Literature.

It is pleasing to an Englishman to observe, that the *age of British Literature* is of longer duration, and not inferior in splendour to any which have been mentioned. It may be divided into two series of writers; the first, may be supposed to have commenced with Spenser, and to have closed with Edmund Burke; the second to have commenced at the decease of that great man, and to embrace the present time. In some branches of taste and science Great Britain has been equalled, in sculpture and painting she has been excelled, in other countries; but what poets have surpassed Milton or Shakspeare; what historians have equalled Hume, Robertson, or Gibbon; what philosophers approximate to Bacon,* Newton, or

* The life of lord chancellor Bacon, by Mallet, is universally admitted to be very defective. A well written account of the public

Locke?—Where do we find such an union of political knowledge, philosophy, and eloquence, as in the pages of Burke?—In his line of excellence,—and it certainly is

and private character of this eminent personage would be an invaluable accession both to the literary and the political history of this country,—the Reminiscent therefore adds with pleasure, that the public may expect to receive it from the pen of his friend Mr. Basil Montagu. That gentleman has already preluded to it by his two articles on the *Novum Organum* of Bacon, in the *Retrospective Review*.

Inverting the order of the adjectives in the well known sentence of Tacitus,—“*Bonum Virum faciliè dixeris magnum libenter* ;”—we may apply it to Bacon : beyond this, we fear, that no impartial investigation of his character will ever lead.

His general subserviency to the sovereign and his favourites, and his adulatory language to them, cannot be denied : but it is some extenuation of them that, in his time, equal subserviency, and equal adulation, were chargeable on several of the greatest of his countrymen. Lord Coke, his stern and powerful adversary, did not scruple, out of compliment to James, to call sir Walter Raleigh “a viper of hell ;” and to call the vile Buckingham, “the saviour of his country.” To extenuate the bribery proved upon Bacon, it is said, and perhaps it is generally true, that though he was bribed, his judgments were impartially given ; it has even been asserted that an instance has not been shown, in which he decided in favour of the party, from whom the bribe was received. It has also been said, that bribes to the same extent, and proffered in the same manner, had been received by all his predecessors.

The circumstances of the afflicting *dénouement* of the catastrophe are highly interesting ; but much in them remains to be cleared up. It is certain that Bacon himself desired to be publicly heard ; this argues no fear of inquiry ; it is also certain, that it was only from an unhappy deference to the monarch and his favourite, that Bacon did not insist upon such an inquiry, and made his submission : Over *this*, genius and learning will ever sigh ; no one, blessed with either, can read the caustic line in which Bacon is mentioned by Pope, without a pang.

The reflection transcribed in page 167, from father Bourdaloue, may, when we contemplate the infirmities of Bacon, be, with great propriety, indulged in.

not one of the lowest—this great man stands, in respect both to ancient and to modern times, without a rival or a second. We remember the verses, in which he is described to be one,

“Who, born for the universe, narrowed his mind,
And to party gave up, what was meant for mankind.”

But, if he had not been the very thing he was, would so many general truths have fallen from him? Should we have received from him such irradiations of fancy, such bursts of eloquence? His very adversaries will allow, that even in the aberrations, which they charge upon him, there is talents enough to set up a hundred political sages of an ordinary calibre.

The second series may be said to comprise the writers of our own time: Several are eminently respectable; and some will reach and be read with delight and admiration by the latest posterity.

XXXI. 3.

*Comparison of the Writers in the British Era of Literature,
with those of Lewis the Fourteenth.*

SUBSCRIBING to the well known verses of lord Roscommon,

“The weighty bullion of one English line,
Drawn through French wire, would through whole pages shine;”
the Reminiscent yet doubts, whether, speaking generally, French writers are not superior to the English in perspicuity and method. If they really possess this superiority in the former, it may be attributed to the multitude of connective words in the French language, its genders, inflections, and varied terminations: if they possess it in the latter, it may be supposed to proceed

from the mode of French education, in which a large portion of time, even in their humblest academies, was given to a course of rhetoric.

Equally subscribing to the decided superiority, which the English assign to *Shakspeare* and *Milton* over all the poets of France, the Reminiscent yet feels that other nations do not seem to acquiesce in this opinion. This is usually ascribed to their imperfect knowledge of the English language ; but it may be observed, that few, who are not natives of France, have that complete knowledge of the French language which enables them to feel and judge of those niceties of language, which constitute the difference between a perfect and imperfect style. It must be added, that both Mr. Fox and Mr. Gibbon, the former a real, the latter a professed admirer of the Grecian school, are said to have preferred *Corneille* and *Racine* to the two great English bards.

In the second order of French poets,—none can be compared to *Dryden*. *Boileau* and *Pope* may be considered to be equally balanced ; the style of the former is singularly perfect : and his poems having nothing of the useless epithet, the pertness, or the ribaldry which too often disfigure the strains of *Pope* ; but in vain should we seek in the pages of *Boileau*, for the fire, the imagination, the dignity, the elegant playfulness, or the occasional, though not frequent tenderness, which *Pope* displays. Who that reads his happy imitation of the *Intermissa Venus diu* of *Horace*, does not wish he had oftener touched the plaintive chords. All the *Odes sacrées* of *Jean Baptiste Rousseau*, many of his other odes, and many of his allegories and cantatas, possess an extraordinary degree of merit ; we suspect that most foreigners would prefer them to the odes of *Gray*.

We have nothing to oppose to the comedies of *Molière*, the fables of *La Fontaine*, or the elegant trifles of *Chaulieu* or *Gressét*. In novels,—certainly the most numerous offspring of modern literature,—England,—(at least if we except the two most perverse productions of human talent, the *Emile* and the *Nouvelle Héloïse*,)—has the pre-eminence.

The French allow the superiority of *Bacon*, *Locke*, and *sir Isaac Newton*, over their own philosophers,—and the superiority of *Hume*, *Robertson*, and *Gibbon*,* over their

* It is not a little remarkable that, notwithstanding the immense extent of *Mr. Gibbon's* subject, he always appears to be master of it, and to write down upon it, while *Hume* and *Robertson* seem to be writing up to theirs, and to acquire information as they proceed.—How much is it to be lamented, that *Gibbon* did not form his style on those models of Greek simplicity, which he so often praises! An historian may reasonably expect some previous information in his readers; *Gibbon's* demand for it is exorbitant. For the intelligence of his history, they should bring to the perusal of it a quantity of knowledge, sufficient to fill a considerable library. His prejudices against Christianity are much to be lamented; the insidiousness of his attack upon it cannot be condemned with too much severity. *Dr. Whittaker's* criticism of his history is rough, but powerful; it is expressed in language scarcely less affected than his own; but the critic often draws blood.

Robertson's style is clear and dignified, but generally too measured, and when it is not supported by his subject, is unpleasantly grandiloquent. In words and phrases *Hume* often sins, and inaccuracy is too often justly chargeable upon him: But the general charm of his composition is indescribable: he never places himself between the book and the reader: he conducts him, seldom delighted, but always pleased and interested, to the end. Then, for the first time, the author is thought of, and receives his due tribute of admiration.

To a seat on the bench, which holds this distinguished triumvirate, *Dr. Lingard's History of England* gives him an unquestionable title. "Diligence and accuracy," says *Mr. Gibbon*, "are the only

own historians ; but they observe that, while *Bossuet*, *Bourdaloue*, and *Masillon*, are to be found in all libraries and on many toilets in every part of the continent where literature is cultivated, scarcely one English preacher or divine is read out of England. With respect also to sir Isaac Newton, they remark, that, since the death of that great man, the English mathematicians have done little more than slumber under his glories, while *d'Alembert*, *Le Gendre*, *La Grange*, *La Place*, and *Carnot*, have pursued his discoveries, have completed the grand edifice which he left unfinished, and may therefore be said to have given him a kind of posthumous domicile in France.

In general, the French mathematicians do justice to his memory ; but recently *M. Bossût* in his *History of Mathematics*, has endeavoured to rob him of the glory of being the inventor of fluxions. This appears to make it very desirable, that a new edition of the *Commercium Epistolicum* of Collins, with a preliminary history of the discovery of that sublime science, of the important consequences which have emanated from it, and of the disputes to which it has given rise, should be published. Is it not to be wished, that some mathematical *Mecænas*

merits which an historical writer may claim to himself." By the universal confession of all his readers, the praise of each belongs to Dr. Lingard in the highest degree. Few historians have written with greater elegance, few with as much patient investigation and discernment ; none, perhaps, with as great impartiality.

The particular merit of Voltaire's prose, is its exquisite simplicity ; it is not a little remarkable, that in this, he has not produced, among his disciples a single imitator : in general, they disgust as much by their affectation of the grand and the striking, as both they and their founder do by their ribaldry and impiety.

Is the terse simplicity of *Mr. Orme's "History of Hindustan,"* sufficiently known or appreciated ?

would make it agreeable to a Wollaston, an Ivory, or a Babbage, to employ his time on such a work ? This is the more to be desired, as the *Commercium Epistolicum* is become extremely scarce.

XXXI. 4.

The present general Diffusion of Learning among all Ranks of Persons.

THE circumstance which most distinguishes the present era of British Literature from all others, is the general diffusion both of useful and ornamental knowledge among every rank of society, in a manner unknown to former times, and yet unknown to every other nation. With all the faults imputable to newspapers and other periodical effusions of the press, how much useful information is conveyed by them, to every rank of society ? The author of an excellent article in the *Edinburgh Review*, for October, 1819, shows, that, in a given time, an Englishman reads about seventy-five times as much of the newspapers of his country, as a Frenchman does of his. What a spread of information !—It may be said, that the reading might be more useful and edifying ; but what an exercise of the mental powers ! What an excitement to better reading, to farther attainment ! A person can seldom find himself in a mixed society in which there is not more than one person both elegantly and extensively instructed.

XXXI. 5.

General Diffusion of Literature among the Ladies of Great Britain.

BUT, while the dissemination of useful and ornamental knowledge among persons of every rank in this coun-

try is thus generally mentioned, it would be wrong not to take particular notice of its extensive diffusion among the purest and gentlest portion of the community. "Women," says Fénelon, in his *Treatise on Female Education*, "were designed, by their native elegance and softness, to endear domestic life to man, to make virtue lovely to children, to spread around them order and grace, and to give to society its highest polish. No attainment can be above beings, whose end and aim it is to accomplish purposes at once so elegant and so salutary : every means should be used to invigorate, by principle and culture, such native excellence and grace." How generally, and in what a high degree, these attainments are possessed by the daughters of Albion, all persons must have observed, to whom opportunities of observing it have been given, and who have availed themselves of them. Even in the learned languages, and the abstruse sciences, several are respectably informed ; those, to whom the best writers of their own country, and the best in the French and Italian languages are familiar, are numerous ; few are so scantily instructed as not to listen with pleasure and advantage to the conversation of men of learning and taste, or who do not view, with an elegant and discerning eye, the productions of the painter or statuary :—It is rare to find among them one, who does not express herself, both in conversation and upon paper, with correctness and grace. The *Letters of the late Lady Hervey* are deservedly admired :—Are there not now many English ladies capable of writing letters, which, if compared with her's, would not suffer on the comparison ?

Their mild, retiring, and unpretending manners, add

to the charm of their accomplishments. Most Gallic *élégantes* have the spirit of exhibition which is seen in the *Corinne* of Madame de Staël nothing of this is discoverable in our countrywomen. With all their accomplishments,

“ Hide me from day’s garish eye,”

MILTON—

seems to be their almost universal wish.

Pope says,

“ Most women have no character at all,”

and intended to be satirical : but this line, in one application of it, may be considered to express a very high degree of praise. Women are never so perfect as when they possess an assemblage of excellences, each suited to the rest, but none outshining the others, and thus making it her character. Such are the women to whom Shakspeare attracts the favour of the spectators ; his Desdemona, Imogen, Miranda, Hermione, and Ophelia. Such, too, are the Amelia of Fielding, the Rebecca of sir Walter Scott. Each is the perfection of female excellence ; each attracts love and reverence ; each excites interest ; in all there is an assemblage of charms, but no one charm predominates ; none shines with surpassing glory.

But why should they consume so much time, in attempts, generally vain, to arrive at musical excellence ?

Something of a revolution, in the musical taste of this country, was effected by Charlotte, the queen consort of George the third. She introduced into England several German performers of eminence : unfortunately, the music which was encouraged by her, was not that of the high German school of Hasse and the elder Bachs ; it was the light, elegant, and chaste, but gene-

rally unimpassioned school of *John Christian Bach*. A more elevated rank among musicians, than that which Goldsmith holds among poets, should not be assigned to him; and perhaps he should be rather classed with Shenstone,—never offending against taste, often possessing sprightliness and grace, but seldom displaying a ray of genius. His finest performance, is the "*Chiari fonti*," in *Orpheo*. A farther revolution was effected by *Clementi's* most scientific, but most classic performance, on the forte piano;—equalled but not surpassed, by *Cramer*, his excellent and unrivalled scholar.

In the execution of the easy, the difficult, the fantastic, the elegant, and the sublime, both were supremely great; and when Cramer performs his own adagios, "*Venus*," to use the words of Horace, "imbues them with the fifth essence of her own nectar." Still, the aspirant to perfect performance on a keyed instrument, should give days and nights to the practice of the lessons of Scarlatti and the elder Bachs. What a degree of excellence on a keyed instrument, an amateur can attain, those, who have heard Miss Hulmandell's finished performance, can imagine.

It is in music as in glass: up to a certain size, it is common, and its value for sale increases regularly; beyond this, every inch is rare, and double the value of the preceding; at length, it is scarcely to be met with, and its value exceeds all regular calculation. In this manner, a certain degree of vocal excellence is easily attained; it is heard at many *at homes*: Mrs. Billington's was uncommon; Catalini's wonderful: Madame Banti and Madame Mara's incalculably pre-eminent.

From the time, which we have mentioned, excellence on the forte piano, appears to have become the great

object of female education. Yet, though so much of their time is given by the sex to music, how seldom is a finished performer to be heard! To what is this owing? May it not be, that a desire to excel is often mistaken for genius? "Young artist," says Rousseau, "inquire not what is genius. Do you possess it? you feel it. Do you not possess it? you will never know what it is. But do you wish to ascertain whether genius has smiled upon you? Run to Naples! Listen to the master-pieces of Durante,* of Jomelli, of Pergolesi. If, while you hear them, your eyes fill with tears, you feel your heart beat, you shiver, you are suffocated with a transport of delight, take Metastasio, and compose. His genius will animate your own. Like him, you will create. But if, while you listen to these great masters, you remain tranquil, you feel no transport, if you find them merely pretty,—dare not ask what is genius. Vulgar man! profane not that sublime word. What will it avail you to know what genius is? You will never feel it. Go, compose French music." In this, there is exaggeration, but there is truth. Every professor who speaks his genuine sentiments of the real taste for music in this country, will confess, that he has seldom found, in a large boarding-school, two, who had a real ear for music.

After all,—supposing this high degree of musical excellence attainable,—should a young lady, should her parents desire, that she should be stared at by all eyes, and fatigue most ears? Yet this is generally the case at every musical "at home," which aspires to a concert.

* If Rousseau had been acquainted with them, he would have said, "Listen to the Adagios of Cramer, or hear him play Handel's Lessons."

This observation, however, does not apply to the cultivation of the art, or the practice of it, with moderation,—where the performer aims at no more, than to sing a simple melody, in time and tune, and to obtain a general knowledge of harmony. When these are acquired, when the words of the song are well chosen,—(which should never be in a language, the perfect knowledge and pronunciation of which the performer does not possess,)—when they are sung with decent feeling; and the songster, though pleased to diffuse pleasure among her circling friends, evidently retires from the observing eye,—it is one of the highest gratifications, which it is given to mortals to receive. Perhaps an Italian hypercritic would deny it to be music.—In fact, it is something better; virtue and pleasure alternately smile,—

“ There too, does Hymen oft appear,
In saffron robe, with taper clear.”

MILTON.

* But, beyond this,—unless where the performer is perfect, and the audience select,—all is distraction and impatience;—it rains ennui.

Whether ladies, even with the greatest dispositions for literary acquirement, should study the learned languages, may be thought a question. The negative was once suggested by the Reminiscent to a lady of great mental ardour: she observed, that the inferiority of the female capacity for acquiring the dead languages, should not be taken for granted:—“ I’ll engage,” she said, “ that if we were sent to Eton or Harrow, we should “ become as good classical scholars as boys.” “ True,”—it was replied, “ but you are not sent to Eton or Harrow: this makes the difference.” The fact is, that

the structure of the Greek and Latin differs so much from that of modern tongues ; their grammars are so complex and obscure, their prosody so abstruse, and, for several years, the acquisition of them is, in a great measure, so much a mere act of memory ; and, without a perfect knowledge of them, the real beauty of the language is so little felt, that any thing like a competent knowledge of them can scarcely be obtained, except at a public school, where the boys acquire it much more by hearing their school-fellows repeat over and over again their daily tasks, than by learning their own. Of this advantage young ladies are necessarily deprived.

It is observable, that, at a certain time of life, even gentlemen, who are most ardent in literary pursuits, relax in their zeal for the prosecution of them, if their studies be not directed to a particular object : and for want of it, generally fall into a course of desultory listless reading, which leads to nothing. This was remarked by Mr. Burke to a friend of the Reminiscent ; and he acknowledged that, in one period of his life, he himself, with all his literary enthusiasm, experienced something of this paralysis. To prevent it, would it not be adviseable for ladies of cultivated minds, when they begin to feel its approach, to engage in some scientific, literary, or historical inquiry, which will fix their attention, and, while it confines, will animate their daily application ?

The late lady Crewe desired the Reminiscent to furnish her with a course of study of modern History. He inserts his answer in the Appendix.* In framing it, he took care to mention, with very few exceptions,

* APPENDIX, Note V.

—no work, which is not in Hookham's well-stocked catalogue.

Another, and perhaps a better course, for female reading, would be, to peruse "*Anquetil's Abridgment of Ancient and Modern History*," attending particularly to its geography, and making minutes of its chronology:—Or, if modern history only be the object, to peruse,—but with particular attention, and with a proper map always in view, the "*Tableau des Révolutions de l'Europe*," par M. Koch," now in 4 vols. 8vo.

Here the Reminiscent presumes to mention an observation made to him by a learned and intelligent friend, on the subject of pursuing the study of the learned languages too far. For some time after the Reminiscent quitted college, he continued smitten with the love of Greek and Roman lore. His friend remarked to him, that it was an idle pursuit: "You and I," he said, "are willing to think that we understand the French language, as well as we do our own: most gentlemen, who have received a liberal education, do the same. Yet, how little do any of us feel the beauties of French poetry? How little are we sensible of that indescribable charm of the verses of Racine, of which every Frenchman talks to us with so much rapture?—Now, if this be so, in the case of a language, which we hear spoken every day, and the writers in which are countless, how much more must it be so in respect to a dead language, where the writers whom we possess, are so few? The utmost knowledge, which, by the most persevering application, we can obtain of the literary merit of their compositions, as far, at least, as respects the beauties of their style, must be very limited." In this observation there seems to be good sense: one, of

an import somewhat similar, and leading to a similar conclusion, was made to the Reminiscent by Mr. Porson:—"The number of ancient writers," said that gentleman, "who have reached us, is so small, that we cannot be judges of the expressions, or even of the words appropriated to any particular style. Many, suited to the general style of Livy, would not be suited to that of Tacitus: of this, we necessarily are, in a great measure, insensible; and use them indiscriminately. This must be wrong; when, therefore, we write in the Latin language, our style should be most unambitious; we should carefully avoid all fine words and expressions; we should use the most obvious and most simple diction; beyond this, we should not aspire: if we cannot present a resemblance, let us not exhibit a caricature."

It was a remark of Boileau, that if the French had become a dead language, and few only of its approved writers had survived, a poet, who wished to describe a person gathering sand on the bank of a river, might mention him,

"Sur la rive du fleuve amassant de l'arène;"

and justify the line, by producing, from approved authors, every word it contained. "But now," said Boileau, "the most ordinary writer knows that the expressions *"rive du fleuve* and *amassant de l'arène*, are insupportably bad; and would write *'Sur le bord de la rivière* and *amassant du sable.'*"

Suggestion of a Work on the Grand Manichean Conspiracy.

HAVING, in a former page of this publication, suggested a plan of one literary work, the Reminiscent begs leave to close the present article by suggesting another.

It is known to every learned reader, that Manicheism was an attempt of Manes, a native of Persia, in the third century, to engraft upon the Gospel, the Persian system of the two principles; one, eternally and sovereignly good, the other, eternally and sovereignly evil. The soul, and whatever is derived from it, they considered to proceed from the former; the body, and whatever is derived from the body, to proceed from the latter. To the body, and therefore to the evil principle, they ascribed the great inequality of power and property among mankind.

After the death of Manes, his followers were miserably persecuted in each division of the Roman empire; and, in consequence of these persecutions, retreated to the pagan countries in the east.* They returned to Europe about the beginning of the ninth century, and during that, and the three following centuries, spread themselves under the various appellations of Paulicians, Albigenses, Popelicans, Bogards, Brethren of the Free Spirit, and Lollards, into several sects, equally hostile to church and state. Their theological errors have been a frequent topic of discussion: even this has not yet been exhausted; but little attention has been shown to their political tenets,—to that spirit of hostility to rank and authority, which burst out in the *Jacquerie* in France, and the *Mutineries* in Flanders, and which sug-

* Gibbon's History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, vol. v. c. 54:—perhaps the most interesting chapter in the work.

gested the questions asked by the *English Lollards*, under the celebrated John Ball,

“ When Adam delved and Eve span,
Where was then the gentleman ? ”

And, “ why Adam had not obtained a patent of nobility “ for all his descendants ? ”—This evidently is the doctrine of liberty and equality, circulated with such tremendous effect in our own times. In those, of which we are speaking, it was as eloquently, though rudely propagated ; and had the post and the post-roads then existed, would probably have made, with the same consequences, the tour of the world.*

The severities of the governments of Europe bent these agitators to the ground ; but the spirit was unsubdued ; it fermented in silence and obscurity, and gradually prepared the mind for the religious innovations which afterward took place. These, the doctrine of equality often accompanied ; it is particularly discernible in Calvin and his primitive disciples. This, the eloquence of Bossuet,† and shrewdness of Bayle,‡ ably charged upon them. The principle was adopted in a limited or unlimited extent, by the French philosophers, and its ultimate results appeared in the revolution.

* A curious account of the *Jacquerie*, may be found in M. Naudet’s “ *Conjuration d’Etienne Marcel contre l’Autorité Royale*, 8vo. 1815.” The Reminiscent asked the celebrated Mallét du Pan, what was the principal cause of the French revolution ?—“ It had,” answered Mallét, “ 100,000 causes ; the post and the post-roads may be counted for 99,999.” It is much to be wished that we had a selection from this gentleman’s political writings : The Reminiscent suspects that no one has written on the subject of the French revolution quite so well. His predictions, always melancholy, but always verified by the event, procured for him the honourable appellation of the French Cassandra.

† In his six “ *Advertissemens aux Protestans*.”

‡ In his “ *Avis aux Réfugiés*.”

Such is the object which we presume to suggest ; it must be admitted to be singularly important and interesting ; a proper execution of it will require great previous knowledge, long application, extensive research, and, probably, some foreign travel. But,

"Est quâdam prodire tenus, si non datur ultra ;"

HORACE—

while we wait for the execution of this work, on the extensive plan we have suggested, it is much to be wished that some gentleman, properly qualified, would favour us with an outline of it : one of our literary journals would be a very proper place for its insertion.*

The late abbé Barruel, in his curious "*Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire du Jacobinisme*," professes to trace the German Illuminés, of whom the public have heard so much, through the Freemasons, Albigenses, and Knights-templars, to the Manicheans. The templar extraction of the Freemasons had been previously asserted by several German writers, but it seems to be completely disproved by the researches of the professors Moldenhawer and Münter.† The abbé Barruel overdid the work, by supposing the foreign Masons and Illuminés to be the authors and principal factors of the French revolution. They co-operated in it ; but, if there never had been a mason or an illuminé, the French revolution would have equally taken place. So long ago as during Cromwell's usurpation, Harrington, in his *Oceana*, no-

* On this subject, Bossuet's "Variations," l. 11. 14, and father Persons' "Three Conversions of England," part iii. c. 3, on one side, and Basmage's "Histoire des Eglises Réformées," and the "History of the Anabaptists or Memnonites," in Dr. Macclaine's translation of "Moshem's Ecclesiastical History," vol. iv. p. 129, on the other,—may be usefully consulted.

† See Monthly Review, vol. xxv. p. 303, 501 ; vol. xxvii. p. 509.

ticed the germ of it in France: The "*Commentaire du Chevalier Folard sur Polybe*," published in 1727, contains the following prediction:—"A conspiracy is actually forming in Europe, by means at once so subtle and so effectual, that I grieve for not having come thirty years later into the world. It must be confessed that the sovereigns of Europe wear very bad spectacles. The proofs of it amount to mathematical demonstration, if such proofs ever were of a conspiracy."* If "there were not another and a better world," the Reminiscent would feel and acknowledge a regret similar to this of the French commentator.

XXXII.

THE HISTORICAL MEMOIRS OF THE ENGLISH, IRISH, AND SCOTTISH CATHOLICS.

THE Reminiscent has now reached his *Historical Memoirs of the English, Irish, and Scottish Catholics*,—his last literary labour.

During a period of forty-three years, he has taken an active part in the concerns of the English Catholics, particularly in their attempts to obtain the repeal of the penal laws remaining in force against them, in consequence of their religious principles. It necessarily became his duty to obtain the best knowledge, within his power, of

* The letter of cardinal Julian to pope Eugenius, copied by Bossuet, in almost the first page of his *Variations*, is a remarkable monument of foresight. "The minds of men," says the cardinal, "are big with the expectation of what measures will be taken, and are ripe for something tragical. I see the axe is at the root; the tree begins to bend; and instead of propping it whilst we may, we hasten its fall." A clear prediction of the reformation.

the external and internal occurrences in which the English Catholics have been particularly interested, since the era of the reformation.

Mr. Dodd's Church History of England contains all, or at least almost all the information, which we possess upon these subjects. It is executed with ability and industry :—the labour of procuring the materials, which he used in the composition of it, must have been great, and the expense attending it considerable : this, it is said, was defrayed, in a great measure, by Mr. Constable, of Burton-Constable, in Yorkshire, and Mr. Sheldon, of Beoley, in Warwickshire.

The difficulty of making the collections necessary for the execution of his work must have been so great, that it has ever been a matter of surprise to the Reminiscent how Mr. Dodd surmounted it. The present scarcity of books, throwing any light on the history of the Catholics anterior to the time when his "Church History" appeared, is not to be conceived by those, who have not been engaged in a similar pursuit. It is principally owing to two circumstances,—the destruction of Catholic books and documents, by the pursuivants, during the reigns of the two Charleses, and the usurpation ; and the destruction of them by the Catholics themselves, from the dread of the heavy penalties to which the law subjected them, if any Catholic documents should be found in their custody. The best collection of such materials is at Burton-Constable : the Reminiscent has heard of others, but has not been able to ascertain their extent or value.

The Reminiscent must also remark, that, if the extent and accuracy of the information contained in Dodd's History be sometimes very great, the deficiency of it, when

most desirable, and most to be expected, is sometimes surprising. Few events in the history of the English Catholics are more important than the intrigues of what may be termed the Spanish faction, of English Catholic exiles, at the court of Madrid,—the six questions proposed to the priests, who suffered in the reigns of Elizabeth and James the first,—the protestation proposed to be tendered to government by the English Catholics during the usurpation,—and their attempts for relief at the restoration of Charles the second. The information furnished by Mr. Dodd on these topics, is extremely scanty. The Reminiscent has endeavoured to supply the deficiency; but, on every head, found too great reason to complain of a scarcity of materials. It cannot be supposed that in Dodd's time this existed, in the same degree.

Mr. Dodd has been accused of partiality to the secular, and of prejudice against the regular clergy: the Reminiscent inclines to think that there is not much foundation for this charge. If it be really founded, it is excusable in some measure, as the regulars generally withheld their historical treasures from him, while the seculars communicated theirs to him without reserve. Thus, his history would naturally exhibit more of the secular than the regular feeling, on the points, upon which there had been differences between them; and his language would naturally be that of his materials. Still, all must acknowledge, that he shows the fierce polemic less than most of his contemporaries.

The greatest defect of his work is, its want of order. By classifying the subjects of his history under various distinct heads, he has destroyed its unity. To obtain a full knowledge of any one transaction of importance

which it details, it is necessary to track the different circumstances, which entered into it, through a great number of distinct heads: these often lie at a distance from each other, and the information sought for is sometimes to be found only in places, where it might be least expected. This defect might have been supplied by a full index; but the index to the work is remarkably scanty.

The object of the Reminiscent, in composing and publishing the work of which he is now speaking, and which has been the employment of most of his literary,—he may say, most of his unprofessional hours, was to put Catholics and Protestants into good humour with one another, and Catholics into good humour among themselves. He will not say that he has “nothing extenuated,” but he will most confidently assert, that he has “set down naught in malice.” In writing upon subjects, where great differences of opinion, and warm discussions have taken place, it is difficult to express one’s self in a manner that will satisfy both parties: all that can be done, is to abstain from ungentle language, and to adhere, as much as possible, to simple narrative. The Reminiscent trusts that he has observed this rule; he hopes a single harsh word, or harsh reflection, is not to be found in any of his writings.—“*Noli contendere verbis querulosis*,” is the advice of the author of the “*Imitation of Christ*,” and as much recommended by true philosophy and prudence, as by true morality and religion.

He wishes that all, who feel inclined to accuse him of partiality, would, before they pronounce a sentence of condemnation, reflect a little, whether, in the very instance, in which they are disposed to condemn him,

their adversaries would not equally feel that he did not go all *their* lengths, and therefore impute to him equal partiality.

The first edition of "The Memoirs" had a rapid sale : a second immediately followed. It was suggested to the Reminiscent, that it would add considerably to their value, and throw considerable light on many parts of them, if a preliminary account were inserted in them, of the principal occurrences in the history of the English church before the reformation ; if they contained a fuller account of the events in the history of the English Catholics after that era ; and if the most remarkable revolutions in the histories of the established church, and the dissenting and evangelical congregations, were succinctly noticed. With this view, two additional volumes were prepared, and have been indulgently received.

The Reminiscent has recently presented a third edition of the whole work to the public. No person has more sincerely courted, or more readily acquiesced in criticism, than he has done : he knows of one quarter only from which it has not been accepted and universally submitted to, either by altering the passage in the manner suggested, or expunging it altogether.

The Reminiscent avails himself of this opportunity to state, that he understands it to be most confidently asserted that Dr. Poynter, the vicar-apostolic of the London district, did not only not approve, but did explicitly disapprove the oath finally inserted in Mr. Plunkett's bill.

This assertion is most unfounded : The bill passed in the Commons on the 2d day of April, 1821 ; on the following day, the third of the same month, Dr. Poynter,

of his own accord, addressed a letter, to the noblemen and gentlemen of the Roman Catholic Board, and signified most explicitly, his approbation of the oath, and his opinion that they might conscientiously take it.

Mentioning this stage of the business, the Reminiscent begs leave to express his high sense of THE GRATITUDE; DUE FROM THE GENERAL BODY OF THE ROMAN CATHOLICS OF THESE REALMS, TO THE LEGISLATURE, for the long, benign, and repeated discussions, which their applications for relief have received from parliament.*

When a strong prejudice against any description of persons is deeply rooted in the general body of a people, and both their understandings and their feelings are inveterately convinced of its justice, the eradication of it requires length of time: no powers of reason or eloquence can remove it on a sudden, or even without incessant repetition of effort. This is particularly the case in all questions of a complicated nature, upon which the feelings and passions of men have been long and violently agitated, and both religious and political parties have been deeply engaged.

Now,—never has a prejudice been more violent or more general, than that, which was entertained by the bulk of the nation against their Roman Catholic brethren. It was at its height at the end of the reign of Charles the second. From the period of the revolution, it seemed to subside; but it was not till the reign of his late majesty, that the Catholics began to have a fair hearing. Their first appeal to the legislature was

* The conduct of earl Grey, lord Holland, and lord Grenville, to the British Catholics, in 1807, was most noble.

in 1778 ; from this time, till the present, their cause has been repeatedly brought before each house of parliament, and has received the fullest and fairest discussion. The Reminiscent has attended almost every debate in the English or the United parliament, in which the question has been discussed : he does not hesitate to pronounce, that imagination cannot conceive more ability, more candour, or more kindness, than have been displayed in these debates. They have left, so far as discussion was desirable, nothing for the Catholics to desire ; and so far as respects the removal of *ancient prejudice*, little of it, comparatively speaking, to be removed. But, to remove even this little, a strong effort is necessary. It is a prejudice instilled by the nurse and the nursery maid ; and, who is ignorant of the almost supernatural force of prejudices so instilled ? Reason and ridicule are long applied in vain : even after they conquer, the prejudice triumphs, and the *nocturni lemmures*, the ghost and the goblin, are still believed and feared. This remnant of ancient prejudice, is *almost* the only adversary that is yet unsubdued, and even this begins to yield.

Here, the Reminiscent begs leave to avail himself of the opportunity, which the subject of the present pages affords him, of paying the tribute of gratitude, which is due from him, and every other British Roman Catholic, to the memory of the late MARQUIS OF LONDONDERRY, the able and warm advocate, during a long series of years, of their emancipation. His conduct, in the management of the general concerns of the nation, is foreign to the subject of these pages ; but it is highly pleasing to the Reminiscent, to recollect that all, who negotiated the concerns of the Catholics with his lordship,

among whom the Reminiscent may be numbered, uniformly experienced, in their intercourse with him on this subject, all the facility of access, urbanity of manners, and real habits of business, which so eminently distinguished him, and which, even his adversaries did not deny him.

Whether a PROMISE OF EMANCIPATION was made to the Catholics at the time of the Irish Union, is a matter of controversy : but the Reminiscent begs leave to say, that it is only a dispute of words. Those, who contend for the existence of the promise, *may* concede that a formal specific promise of it was not given ; but it must be conceded to them, that the whole Catholic population of Ireland understood that it was : and that the concurrence of the Irish Catholics in the Union,—(and without their concurrence it could not have been effected,) was obtained by holding out to them their complete emancipation, in a manner, which they themselves construed to be a promise. Now,—may we not confidently ask,—whether,—when a solemn contract is in agitation, and one of the contracting parties perceives that the other enters into it, because he understands that a specific boon is promised him by it,—both justice and honour do not imperatively require, either that he should be undeceived, or that the contemplated boon should be deemed an essential article of the contract ? To permit a treaty to proceed, with a knowledge of such a misconception in one of the parties, and with a determination to withhold the boon, *on the ground of its not being explicitly mentioned, or explicitly promised, must* be systematic delusion. In strictness, perhaps, it may not be termed a breach of promise, but every divine and hu-

man law must pronounce it a fraud, a violation of honour, and a deceit,*

That both Mr. Pitt and lord Londonderry, when they held out this expectation,—(to use the softest expression, which the case admits;—)were perfectly sincere, the Reminiscent has no doubt. The conscientious, and therefore respectable scruples of his late Majesty, proved an unexpected obstacle to its realization; and Mr. Pitt went out of office. Whether this obstacle was the real motive of his retirement, or merely a pretence for withdrawing himself from administration, until a peace with France should be concluded, has been questioned: he himself always assigned the former motive; and some advocates of Catholic emancipation have contended, that honour required of him not to return to office, till the royal consent to Catholic emancipation should have been obtained. This would have been a magnificent proceeding: but would it have served the Catholic cause? Was it not more likely to serve it, that Mr. Pitt should return to power, and avail himself of all the means that his situation would then afford, to remove the obstacle, and fulfil the expectation, which he must feel he had raised, and which honour loudly called upon him to fulfil?

Both he and lord Londonderry appeared to consider the case in this light. With a view to facilitate their designs for Catholic emancipation, the negotiations with the Catholic prelates in Ireland, for a royal veto in the

* Mr. Grattan said to the Reminiscent, that "the government had not deceived the Roman Catholics, but permitted them to deceive themselves:" this may not be far from the truth. See Hist. Mem. vol. iv. c. 84. s. 4.

nomination of bishops, were set on foot. The Reminiscent's Historical Memoirs* of the English Catholics contain a full account of this proceeding. The negotiation appears to have been conducted on the part of lord Londonderry, in the most honourable manner; no menace was used, no promise made: the prelates coolly, dispassionately, and for a considerable length of time, deliberated upon the veto;—they unanimously acceded to it;—when at the end of ten years, a strong prejudice was raised among the Irish Catholics against it, the agent of the Irish prelates,—himself a prelate,—fully and with great ability, defended it; and, when the Irish prelates afterward retracted it, they did not assert any religious objection to it, but rested their objection to it on the sole ground of *inexpediency*. In the mean time, their acquiescence in it had gained many friends to the cause:—is it therefore to be wondered that lord Londonderry persisted in requiring it?

Had the subsequent clamour been foreseen, it ought not to have been suggested: as matters now stand, the Reminiscent most sincerely wishes that it had not been thought of. But, that the project of the veto originated in a sincere wish of Mr. Pitt and lord Londonderry, to effect Catholic emancipation, and in their belief, that it would facilitate the success of the measure; and that, if it had been adopted, it would have proved no real grievance to the Catholic body, appears to the Reminiscent perfectly clear. Still, as many respectable persons object to it, and it is generally displeasing to the Catholic body, both in England and in Ireland, the Reminiscent sincerely wishes, that it may henceforth be abandoned altogether.

* Vol. iv. c. 86.

In all the recent attempts for Catholic emancipation, lord Londonderry showed himself a real friend to their cause. It was impossible to converse with him upon the subject, or to see the interest which he took in the various debates upon it, without being convinced that his lordship had the most cordial wishes for its success, and that he thought it a measure which would materially serve the real interests of the empire, and do honour to his name. On the Wednesday before he died, he had a long conversation upon Catholic concerns, with Dr. Poynter, the Roman Catholic vicar apostolic for the London district, and expressed sentiments toward the Catholic body, of consummate wisdom and liberality. In one word, the marquis of Londonderry comported himself on the late agitations of the Catholic question, with kindness, frankness, and honour, like a gentleman, a statesman, and a true lover of his country. Among his numerous political adversaries, there was not one who did not do ample justice to this part of his conduct; and the Catholics feel that his death has deprived them of a wise, a powerful, a warm, and an active friend.

From his successor, the RIGHT HONOURABLE GEORGE CANNING, what is there just and reasonable, which the Catholics may not expect? He understands their case, has splendid talents, has enlarged views; loves honourable fame, and possesses one of the kindest minds the Reminiscent ever knew. Should he achieve Catholic emancipation, and thus conciliate the jarring interests of the empire, his name will sound throughout all Europe, and the reign of his royal master will form an era that millions in the present, and millions in future ages will bless.

Looking at what the Reminiscent thinks the merit of

his cause, he is surprised that its triumph has been so long delayed : Looking at the difficulties which seemed to overwhelm it, when it first engaged his attention, he admires its gradual but steady progress ; he now flatters himself that the alternation of hope and disappointment, in which he has existed during almost half a century, will cease ; and that the third generation of the Stourtons, the Petres, the Cliffords, and the Throckmortons, will witness the ultimate success of the councils and toils of their grandsires, and their humble but indefatigable collaborator.

With these hopes, he consigned the Historical Memoirs to the press.

After the whole third edition of them, except the appendix to the last volume, was printed, several important documents came into his hands.

He was favoured with the inspection of the ample collections of printed books and manuscripts at *Holkham*, the magnificent seat of Mr. Coke :—they were made*by the late earl of Leicester, the maternal uncle of Mr. Coke's father.—As a catalogue of the manuscript collection is preparing for publication, under the direction of Mr. Roscoe, the Reminiscent will not now notice it, except by stating generally, that all men of learning, particularly biblical scholars, and those who are engaged in the study of the history or antiquities of this country, will find it extremely interesting, on account both of the number and the value of the articles which it contains. *Sic siti lætantur lares*,—the literary *lares* are never so well pleased, as when they preside over a literary collection so extensive, made with so much skill, and communicated with so much liberality.

Holkham abounds in paintings and sculpture by the

most celebrated masters. How little are these generally known ! This confirms Mr. Gibbon's remark, that, if her excellent monuments of art were, as is the case in most foreign countries, brought into her capital, England would be astonished at her own treasures.

Such have been THE REMINISCENT'S LITERARY LABOURS ; they have received his last cares : Such as they are, they now stand before the public, and wait their sentence. With Dr. Johnson* the Reminiscent *can* say, "that he " has lived, until most of those, whom he could have " wished to please, have sunk into oblivion ;" but, with Dr. Johnson he *cannot* say, "that he dismisses his works " with frigid tranquility, insensible alike of fear and hope : " he acknowledges the hope, entertained by him in youth, manhood, and old age, that his pages would be approved by the good, the informed, and the candid : he owns that their censure will afflict him, and that their approbation will be a source to him of high and abundant gratification.

* In the admirable conclusion of his Preface to his Dictionary.

APPENDIX.

NOTE I. referred to in page 72.

JUNIUS.

IN the passage in the text, which refers to this note, mention is made of a story once current, "that a gentleman came in the Bath coach to the Devizes, or the next stage, and fell sick at the inn; that a very decent gentleman came to him from London; that the old man died; that he was buried in the churchyard, and that over his tomb, his friend caused a monument to be raised, with Junius' motto—*Stat nominis umbra.*"

The *Gentleman's Magazine*, for December, 1813, contains a letter, giving an account of this circumstance.

" December 10th.

" Mr. Urban,

" Have the seekers after *Junius* ever heard of *Mr. William Greatrakes*, born in the barony of Imokilly, in the county of Cork, in Ireland, about the year of 1725?

" One, who was his friend, and who states his conviction, in common with others, who knew him well, that this Greatrakes was the author of the Letters of Junius, has permitted me to note down the following particulars relating to him, and which I am assured are, to the best of my informant's knowledge, correct.

" Mr. Greatrakes was bred to the law, and called at the usual period to the Irish bar. After practising a few

years, he quitted that profession, and after becoming an officer, signalized himself again as a barrister, by undertaking the defence of a friendless soldier, upon trial for a capital offence. This circumstance led to an acquaintance with the judge; that, to an introduction to the then lord lieutenant; and so on finally to an intimacy with lord Shelbourne, in whose house he was an inmate during the publication of the *Letters of Junius*. He became an half-pay officer, and about 1779 retired to a small property of his own in the neighbourhood of Youghall. Here he was engaged in continual writing, and much correspondence with his friend lord Shelbourne.

"He died at some place in Wiltshire, on his way to London. During his illness, he sent for his executor, a captain Stopford, who had been in the 63d regiment of foot, and deposited many papers in his hands.

"I am sensible that there are many *hiata* which require filling up in this narrative, but which I am not now in possession of materials to do.

"Enclosed you have his autograph cut from a book in his possession.

"It certainly appears to bear a strong resemblance to most of the specimens in Mr. Woodfall's new edition; and, if the preceding narration turns out to be a substance materially correct, it may induce those who believe that Junius employed an amanuensis, to confer that honour on William Greatrakes, Esq. By the description of his figure, I was sorry to find that he would not answer for the tall gentleman with the bag wig and white coat, who (by the account of Mr. Jackson, one of Woodfall's journeymen,) managed the conveyancing branch of the department.

"ONE OF THE PACK."

In a note to this letter, the editor of the *Gentleman's Magazine* informs us, that "he has been assured that Mr. Greatrakes died at the Bear Inn in Hungerford, and that a flat stone in the churchyard is thus inscribed:—

"Here are deposited the remains of William Great-rakes, Esq. a native of Ireland, who, on his way from Bristol to London, died in this town, in the 52d year of his age, on the 2d day of August, 1791.

"*Stat Nominis Umbra.*"

The same number of the *Magazine* has, in its second plate, an engraving of the autograph to which the preceding letter refers, and a specimen of the handwriting of the real Junius, from Mr. Woodfall's edition. The present writer does not discover much resemblance between them.

The *Gentleman's Magazine* for July, 1813, contains a letter, that details a conversation, which sir Richard Phillips had with lord Shelbourne, then lord Lansdowne, on the subject of Junius. He represented his lordship as scouting the notion that Boyd was the author of the Letters; and made his lordship say, "I knew Junius, and I knew all about the writing and production of those Letters. If I live over the summer, which, however, I do not expect, I promise you a very interesting pamphlet about Junius. I will set the question at rest for ever."

The perusal of these Letters induced the Reminiscent to make some inquiries respecting the gentleman to whom the first letter relates. He has ascertained that a gentleman of the name, family, and occupations mentioned in that letter did exist; that he died on a journey from Bristol to London; that he was known both to the late lord Chatham and Mr. Charles Fox; that his name was mentioned among those who were first surmised to be authors of the Letters of Junius; that his family ascribed those Letters to him: and that one of his surviving neices, on being shown the *fac simile* of Junius' handwriting, published by Messrs. Taylor and Hessey, expressed herself by letter in these words,—“As to the *fac simile*, the hand struck me at once as being my uncle's; but that as more studied, as my uncle's was more sloping, which I suppose is owing to this being stamped”—(*engraved.*)

In page 93 of the text, there is a reference to the present note, for a wonderful tale respecting *Junius*. We shall here present it to our readers.

The *Scots Magazine* printed at Edinburgh, for November, 1799, No. xi. p. 734, contains the following letter.

“Remarks toward a Discovery of the Author of Junius’ Letters.”

“In our last we gave the correspondence which has been published in London, regarding the author of *Junius’ Letters*. Some interesting and striking circumstances have lately appeared in some Edinburgh publications, which regard this interesting topic, and which we think worthy of notice. These point out a gentleman, who, though high in literary fame, never has heretofore been reputed, so far as we recollect, the writer of these celebrated Letters. With what degree of probability our readers will judge from the following circumstances:—In the year 1768, (says this writer,) Dr. Stuart went to London, expecting the patronage of lord Mansfield, on account of his Essay on the British Constitution. His hopes, however, were defeated: Disappointment, probably, as well as revenge, caused him to embrace the interest of the opposition. He procured an introduction to an English gentleman strongly connected by ties of blood to lord Camden. This man is yet living, now in Parliament, and the bosom friend of Mr. Pitt; his name I shall call Lucius. Lucius soon discovered the merits of young Stuart. The scheme of *Junius’ Letters* was immediately planned by Lucius and a Mr. Fitzgerald, an accomplished Irishman, since dead. They were to give the information, and Stuart was to be the author; but a confidential amanuensis was still wanting. Mr. Fitzgerald at last found one in his countryman Hugh Boyd.

“A room was taken in a coffee-house in the Strand, where Lucius, Fitzgerald, and Stuart, nightly met.—Stuart wrote the letters in his own lodgings; Fitzgerald

sent them to Hugh Boyd to be transcribed ; the latter returned them to Fitzgerald, who sent them back to Stuart, and he conveyed them by street porters to Woodfall's.

"An intimate acquaintance of Fitzgerald, from whom I had this story, and in whose veracity I may perfectly confide, happened to frequent the same coffee-house. The mistress of the house one day took my friend aside, and cautiously advised him to break off all acquaintance with Fitzgerald ; 'for,' added she, 'I strongly suspect he frequents the high road. About six weeks ago he took a room from me, for the purpose he said, of spending the evening agreeably with a few friends. But he never comes till twelve at night, and he brings with him two persons whose appearance I sadly dislike. I listen often at the door : their conversation in general is about noblemen : but one night I heard them say they robbed a *linen draper*. I mean to tell them to-morrow to leave the house.' My friends curiosity was naturally excited : He bored a small hole in an unobservable part of the door, and told the landlady he would come early the next morning between one and two, which he accordingly did ; and saw his intimate acquaintance Fitzgerald, Lucius, (whom he knew by sight) and another person sitting between them ; but what was his astonishment when he found their conversation respected the writing of Junius' Letters.

"He called upon Fitzgerald the next morning, and found him in bed, who apologized, by saying he had been late in the city with some acquaintances. Yes, said my friend, sir William Draper always entertains his company well at night ; he is a jolly fellow ; 'there are a number of racks and vipers that dance through his conversation in all the mazes of metaphorical confusion.' Fitzgerald immediately knowing he was discovered, after being informed how his acquaintance came to the knowledge of the secret, took his promise never to reveal it until after his (Fitzgerald's) death.

"To the public this may appear a romantic story, but they may depend on the authenticity of it; which is supported by many other facts.

"It is well known that one of the parcels of Junius was marked with the seal of Edmund Burke; and upon Burke being challenged as to the fact, he declared that it was either a forgery, or that his friend Fitzgerald was the author of Junius; for he recollected breakfasting with Fitzgerald the morning the parcel was delivered, and that Fitzgerald asked his seal to put upon a letter, by apologizing that he could not find his own.

"It is also well known that the Letters of Junius were traced first to Lincoln's-inn-fields, and next to Chancery-lane, in which two places Gilbert Stuart at different times resided.

AN OLD MAGISTRATE."

It is needless to observe that this letter is entitled to little attention,—it is an anonymous communication, and unsupported either by external or internal evidence: it is also open to the objection, that it makes four persons possessed of the secret; now, that four persons, such as the letter describes, should keep such a secret inviolate, in spite of all the temptations to betray it, which vanity and interest would present, is highly improbable. Stuart was in narrow, Boyd in embarrassed circumstances, and neither remarkable for circumspection.

The writer was acquainted with the family of Mr. Fitzgerald, who is mentioned in the transcription, and with several of his friends. He took a leading part in the riot at Drury-lane, which enforced, against the unwilling manager, the admission into the theatre, after the close of the third act, at half price. This exposed Mr. Fitzgerald to ridicule, but he was allowed to be a man of learning and elegant pursuits. He resided at Hampstead; one of his most intimate friends, was a Mr. Madan, a gentleman who resided in the same place; a profound classical scholar, and yet remembered by many with respect. This gentleman, in 1776, mentioned to the Reminiscent, that he always suspected his friend Fitzgerald was the author of Junius' Letters, and

thought him more than equal to the composition of them. But such circumstances are light as air, and even this mention of them may be thought to require an apology.

NOTE II. referred to in page 176.

EXTRACT from *Letters, with which Doctor Parr has honoured the Reminiscent*:—*On the high polish of Virgil's diction—the Character of Archbishop Cranmer—and Polemic Moderation in religious Disputes.*

“ AS to your own book, I read the two first volumes attentively. I was very much instructed by them: I was, in general, pleased with their spirit; but, upon one point, you have dropped from your dignified eminence of liberality. You have been pointedly acrimonious, and, in my judgment, have been glaringly unjust to the memory of CRANMER. It was impossible for me not to contrast your elaborate and most peremptory strictures upon him, with the conciseness, which you preserved, when you spoke of two well known Roman Catholics, who were his contemporaries.* I do not mean to say that Cranmer was faultless, or quite consistent. I have not seen the human being, who, under similar circumstances, would not sometimes have failed. I do not lay much stress upon self-preservation, when Cranmer was in danger of his life from a capricious tyrant. Cranmer ought to have cared little about life and death: but in yielding to the tyrant, he was enabled to carry on that scheme of reformation, which perhaps you regret, and in which I triumph.—I lately turned to *Lingard*; and, upon the whole, I am much less dissatisfied with him than with yourself, so far as Cranmer is concerned; and I quite agree with *Lingard*, that, after

* Gardiner and Bonner;—the *Reminiscent* believes that the first was highly blameable, the second perfectly detestable, if one half reported of them be true.

Wolsey had lost his ascendancy over the mind of Harry, his passions were more violent, and his crimes were more outrageous. Mr. Butler, I read with distrust the mutual reproaches of Romanists and Protestants, as they are called; and you may be assured that, in conversing with English divines, I often resist their attacks upon the church of Rome; even in events, which have long ago passed away. Their is much to be forgiven in all parties. And how could it be otherwise in such a state of things?"

"I thank you for sending me the proposed TRANPOSITION IN VIRGIL;* and I am yet more convinced of its propriety. It continues the invocations, which are now strangely interrupted; and it is followed, as it ought to be, by the preceptive. You are very right in supposing that Virgil carried the Roman language to its fullest extent; and that, by going a little farther, he might have gone too far. That language would not have supplied him with sufficient variety for epic composition, if he had confined himself to the poetical language formed by his predecessors. Upon this point, we can judge very well by the fragments of *Ennius*, and by the heroics of *Catullus*; and yet more, by the ornamental parts of *Lucretius*. Doubtless, there are passages, which even the contemporaries of Virgil must have found somewhat dissimilar to vernacular idiom. The only resource Virgil had was in Grecism. But here, we must distinguish: he, in more than a thousand places, takes his matter from Greek poets of various ages; and more especially from the Homeric poems. He had before him the poets of the Alexandrian school, and I have had occasion to observe to scholars, that, in the structure and cadence of his verse, he resembles the writers of Alexandria, even more than the older writer of the *Odyssey* and *Iliad*.—True. But pray observe, that, while he imitates the thoughts and almost words of

* See *ante*, p. 175;—Two transpositions are there suggested by the Reminiscent. Dr. Parr's observation in this place refers to the *first*:—In a subsequent letter; he disproves the *second*.

Greek poets, he does not adopt any Greek idioms : He employs those idioms when, according to his own taste, he could employ them well ; and I am quite certain that, when the *Æneid* came out, it was considered by his contemporaries as a learned poem ; and that, according to their different tastes, the novelty of his Grecising phraseology pleased or displeased. Moreover, he indulged largely in the *hiatus*, as did the Greeks.—The peculiarities, to which I advert, appeared to him, and appear to me, beauties. Now and then they put a learner upon the stretch. But, the last impression is always favourable. He has one peculiar and transcendental excellence. In many of his lines, and some even of his shorter sentences, the words are plain and familiar ; and yet, by the power of synthesis, they are graceful to the imagination, and harmonious to the ear.* With this property of the poems, I should connect another of high merit. You will find it in his transitions from the elaborate and grand language to a more familiar tone. Luckily for us, we can compare *Virgil* with *Lucan*, *Statius*, *Valerius Flaccus*, *Silius Italicus*, and *Claudian*. Every one of them, more or less, imitates *Virgil* : But they seldom or never imitate him, when he stretches his phraseology beyond the common and well known structure of the Latin tongue. *Silius Italicus* formed his very sentences and his rhythm on the model of *Virgil* ; but, even in *Silius Italicus*, we meet not with the qualities which I am now considering. You are right in supposing, that *Horace* does not abound with those seeming deviations from Latinity, or the soaring above it, which I ascribe to *Virgil*. I have studied the *Λεξις* and *Συμβολις* of *Horace* attentively, and I am charmed with them. But you must not forget that even *Horace* now and then deliberately, and in conformity to the licentiousness of lyric poetry, had recourse to *Grecism*. I give you two instances,

—————desine mollium
Tandem querelarum.

* Does not Milton often do the same ?

" Again,

⁴ *Uxor iavicti Jovis esse neacis."*

" Assuredly, Horace felt that his own language was far, far, far inferior to the Greek, in the boldness and variety of lyric diction; and under that impression he wrote his ode about Pindar, as a writer who could not be equalled, and talks of the *nova verba* rolling in dithyrambics, and the *numeri lege soluti*."

" Let us turn to other and weightier matters. The lines in Juvenal are most impressive.* But no reader of history; no observer of human events; no searcher into the anecdotes of courts, will venture to deny that they are applicable to men of all ages, to ministers, and generals, and kings and ecclesiastics.—Do me the justice to remember that I anticipated your remark about Cranmer, and stated explicitly, that, amidst his arduous duties, life and death were considerations quite unworthy; and at the same time I contended, that in many of his compliances, he was guided by another sense of duty in promoting the great cause of the Reformation. Mr. Butler, it is quite impossible for you or myself to suppose, that, with such a monarch as Henry VIII. and in such a disturbed condition of things, civil and ecclesiastical, human wisdom and human virtue could in all cases have enabled any human being to preserve his innocence.† I adopted Mr. Lingard's just observations upon the advantage which arose from the salubrious influence of cardinal

* The Reminiscent had respectfully asked doctor Parr whether the noble picture presented by Juvenal, of unshaken constancy under the severest trials, in the celebrated verses,

— Ambigū si quando vocabere testis,
Incertæque rei,—Phalaris licet imperet, ut sis
Falsus, et admoto dictet perjuriam tauro;—
Summum crede nefas animam præferre pudori,
Et propter vitam, vivendi perdere causas,

JUVENAL.

could be justly applied to Cranmer?

† Did not Sir Thomas Moore preserve his innocence?

Wolsey over the mind of Henry. But do you think it possible that Wolsey did not now and then gain, or preserve his ascendancy, by a compliance which, *pro hac vice*, no good man would approve? * If I were to take down my books, I could set in array a host of nuncios, legates, prelates, and doctors, who, in obedience to the pope, and with a view either to their own personal advantage, or the interests of the church of Rome, committed faults and crimes.† He, that knoweth the deceitfulness of the heart, will treasure up in his memory, and familiarize to his conscience, the language of Juvenal. We all of us need such aids. But there is abundant room for impartiality, for candour, for large and correct views of agents, and the circumstances under which they act, before we pronounce a sentence of unqualified condemnation upon our fellow creatures. Your censures upon Cranmer were the result of deliberation. They are accompanied by the strongest marks of effort. They are expressed in language most aculeate and energetic. They are not without the aid of four italics. They are reinforced by some concessions which follow them at no great distance. Above all, dear sir, they lead, or as I should say, compel an attentive reader to contrast your lengthened and pointed charges against Cranmer, with the studied conciseness of your statements about Gardiner and Bonner.”‡

* The Reminiscent thinks cardinal Wolsey very blameable, and even criminal in several of his actions, but not always so blameable or so criminal, as some have represented him.

† This, the Reminiscent has admitted in many parts of his works, particularly in his *Historical Memoirs of the English, Irish, and Scottish Catholics*.

‡ If a new edition of the *Historical Memoirs* should be called for, the Reminiscent will reconsider, with all the attention due to all that falls from Dr. Parr, what is said in them of the unfortunate and wickedly-treated prelate. In the mean time, he wishes both the descendants of the prelate, and the members of the church, of which that prelate was a distinguished founder, to be in possession of Dr. Parr's spirited, elegant, and amiable extenuation of what may be thought the vulnerable part of the prelate's character,

“ The finest specimen I know of MODERATION AND CHRISTIAN CHARITY IN POLEMICAL WRITERS, is in the preface of Montagu, bishop of Norwich, to his *Apparatus ad Origines Ecclesiasticas*. Read it, say I, to Protestants and Romanists. It is the 75th paragraph. - I do not take up my opinions from modern pamphleteers. I have learned my lesson in the schools of *bishop Andrews*, *bishop Moreton*, *bishop Jeremy Taylor*, *Dr. Barrow*, *bishop Montagu*, and *Isaac Casaubon*, in his answer to Baronius ; and I shall make a concession, which you will stare at from a verbal critic, when I prefer Montagu to Casaubon. Let me not forget the answer of archbishop Laud to Fisher : Laud investigates,—Laud reasons,—Laud distinguishes,—Laud reviles not, and surely you and I must sympathize in holy indignation when we read, that, during the infamous trial of Laud, his candour to an adversary was one topic of accusation against him.—Our friend Mr. Denman expresses a hope that you and I can effect between the two churches, what was in vain attempted by *Archbishop Wake*, and some doctors of the Sorbonne, and Denman holds up the venerable name of *Bossuet*. With a deep sense of reverence to the learning, talents, and virtues of the English and French prelates, I should consider them as men the most unlikely to reconcile differences. Their very sincerity and real and polemical talents, were, in a peculiar degree, obstacles to any scheme in which they were engaged. I trust in God, that my heart is undefiled by vulgar and virulent prejudices against the church of Rome. But let my wishes be what they may, I look upon the union of the churches as morally impossible. Do not be angry with me. I read with unfeigned sorrow and unfeigned assent, the acknowledgment of the pious *Jeremy Taylor*, that the attempts of *Grotius*, *Cassander*, and others, for what *Jeremy*, in his learned phraseology, calls a *syncretismus*, never will succeed.—With what attention, and Oh ! with what delight, have I read the *Consultatio Cassandri*, the *Votum pro Pace Ecclesiasticâ* and the noble work of *Grotius*, in his *Rivetiani Apologetici Discussio*. I differed

often in opinion, but I always harmonized in spirit with the *Præfatio of Cassander ad Casarem Carolum V.* and the *Confessio Fidei Augustana*. Had I been a bishop, I should have quoted largely from the last-mentioned book in the discussions about civil and ecclesiastical power. You will find these writings in the 4th volume of the works of Grotius."

Assuredly the reader will be obliged to the Reminiscent for presenting to him the preceding valuable lines: if the present publication have no merit but that of preserving them, it will not have been written in vain.

NOTE III. referred to in page 204.

The Inaugural Oration at Laying the First Stone of the London Institution.

MY LORD MAYOR ;

MY LORD CARRINGTON,

President of the London Institution ;

And GENTLEMEN.

EVERY person, who heard the eloquent and dignified address of the right honourable the lord mayor, on his placing the FIRST STONE OF THE LONDON INSTITUTION, must join me in regretting that, to his many other attentions to this institution, his lordship does not add that of addressing you, on your return from the interesting ceremony. This, the managers of the institution have desired of me ; and in obedience to their wishes, I now request your attention to a few words, which I shall offer to your consideration ON THE ADVANTAGES WHICH SCIENCE AND COMMERCE DERIVE FROM EACH OTHER. But I beg leave to premise what I shall say upon it, by a short account of the formation of the institution, and the views of those, with whom the design of it originated.

I.

ABOUT ten years ago, some gentlemen of high rank in commerce, and distinguished by their enlarged and culti-

vated understandings, projected the institution, on whose account you have this day been convened. Considering the mercantile eminence of their country; persuaded that, whatever increases the splendour, increases equally the strength and activity of commerce, and contemplating the example of almost every other European nation, they thought it due to the dignity and glory of the empire, that her commercial metropolis should be graced by a *literary and scientific institution*, on a liberal and extensive plan. They judged that such an establishment *would bring science and commerce into contact; and that, by their approximation, each would draw forth and invigorate whatever there might be of latent energy or power in the other.*

Under this impression, they submitted their views to the consideration of their fellow-citizens, and solicited the co-operation of their munificence. The design was universally approved; and a subscription of about 70,000*l.* immediately raised, within the walls of the city of London and her commercial environs. The portion of land which has just been honoured with your presence, was purchased from the corporation of London, with a view of erecting upon it a building, suited to the purposes of the institution. I am authorized to add, that the gentlemen, who treated with the corporation for the purchase of it, speak, in high terms, of the liberality of their proceedings.

Presuming on this liberality, and addressing myself to it, may I, an unauthorized individual, intimate an humble wish—(but a wish generally entertained,)—that some arrangement may be made with the corporation of the city of London, by which the Gresham lectures shall be attached to the London Institution? and, in conformity to sir Thomas Gresham's wise and beneficial intentions, thus made really and actively conducive to the general diffusion of science and literature. This must be the wish of every one, to whom these are dear; or who reverences the memory of the venerable founder of the lectures; or who feels the respect always due to the ashes, which still speak, of the illustrious dead.

II.

THAT *the union of science and commerce* produces public and individual happiness, and elevates, in the rank of nations, the countries that are blessed with them, would, if it required proof, be better shown by history than argument.

The spacious provinces, which now compose the Ottoman empire, were once the seat of science and commerce. Then, they were dignified by wisdom and valour; and, for a long time, were the fairest portion of the Christian world. Of their science and commerce they were deprived by their invaders; and, in consequence of it, sunk into a state of abject misery, which no tongue can adequately describe:—Large territories dispeopled, goodly cities made desolate, sumptuous buildings become ruins, glorious temples subverted or prostituted, true religion discountenanced and oppressed, all nobility extinguished, violence and rapine exulting over all, and leaving no security, except to abject minds and unlooked on poverty.* Such is the state of a country, which hath lost her commerce and science. Would you behold a country in the full possession of them? Contemplate your own:—the number and magnificence of her cities, the high state of her agriculture, the activity of her manufactories, the easy intercourse between all parts of the nation; her grand foundations, both for learning and charity, the graceful dignity and conciliating ease of high life, the countless decencies of the middle ranks, the cheerful industry of the lowest, the general veneration for the constitution, the general obedience to law, the general devotion to their country.—Such is England! If it be inquired by what means she hath attained this height of glory and prosperity, much, it must be answered, is owing to that happy union of science and commerce, for which, in every part of her history, she has been eminently distinguished.

* See sir George Sandys' Account of the Ottoman Empire.

III.

Now, science and commerce are mutually dependent on the other ; each assists each, and each receives from each a liberal return.

That *the commercial successes of a nation tend directly to promote literature, the sciences, and the arts*, admits of no doubt. On this part of my subject, I shall do little more than appeal to your own observations.

In the course of last summer, many of you have visited the scene of the most glorious and eventful victory that modern history has to record. I request them to recollect the long line of magnificent towns in Belgium, through which they passed, in their road to that memorable spot, or on their return ; the many public edifices of exquisite and costly architecture, which they observed in them, and the numberless paintings and works in marble, gold, silver, iron, and bronze, with which these abound. I beg them to recollect, that, during two hundred years, all these cities have been in a state of decline : they may then judge what they were in the day of their prosperity. Now, every thing which I have mentioned, was raised or collected by the fostering hand of commerce. For, till the imprudent conduct of the duke of Burgundy and the house of Austria, drove commerce to Amsterdam, the Netherlands were her favourite seat ; and all these monuments of art and science owe their existence to the commercial acquisitions and well directed munificence of the burghers of Bruges, Ghent, Antwerp, Bruxelles, and Louvaine. The architecture, painting, and sculpture which adorn the cities between the Alps and Middle Italy, equally owe their existence to the burghers of Lombardy. Had it not been for her commerce, Venice would never have had the school of painting, for which she is so illustrious. Had not the family of the Medici, afterward allied to so many royal houses, and the parent of so many sovereign princes, been successful merchants, half, perhaps, of the precious remains of antiquity which we now possess,

would not have reached us. A single ship, freighted with spices, brought to Lorenzo di Medici, from the east and Greece, two hundred manuscripts, eighty of them, of works, at that time unknown in Europe. Nor should we forget the merchant kings, to whom, as the best managers of it for the public, the British Nation confides her East Indian commerce. It would be difficult to point out a period during which, more valuable communications have been made to the learned world, than that which has elapsed since *the Institution for inquiring into the antiquities of the arts, sciences, and literature of Asia*, was established in Bengal. Far be it from us, to deny or undervalue the obligations which learning and science owe to the monarchs of the earth, or to the ranks which immediately approach them. To these, much, very much, do learning and science owe: but, were they not themselves continually enriched by the commercial part of the community, scanty indeed would be their means of remunerating or encouraging the possessors of either.

IV.

On the other hand, *science has ever been ancillary to commerce*. Not a step can commerce safely take, either in her most simple or her most complex operations, unless the sciences of number and measure attend her. Nor, should it be forgotten, that many even of those rules,

“Which boys can read and girls can understand,”—POPE.

are the result of the most profound and laborious investigation; and that the midnight lamp has, over and over again, been lighted to the scientific men, by whom they were discovered.

To navigation,—commerce almost wholly owes her existence. From the felling of the tree to the launch of the ship, and from the launch of the ship to her arrival in port, every thing now appears to be reduced to rule; and the rules appear so simple in their theory, and so easy in their application, that they seem to be carried

into effect by a kind of instinctive readiness and a process almost mechanical. But to form these rules, apparently so simple and so easy, the minds of scientific men had been employed for ages, on the most extensive and abstruse researches. It is literally true that, in the circles of art or science, there is scarcely one, which has not been pressed into the service of the ship builder or the mariner. In those lines of trade or commerce, which are employed on the metallic productions, or in forming or compounding colours, there scarcely is a process which the workman does not owe to chemistry ; and which it did not cost the chemist the toil of years to discover. When the drainer of a marsh uses his spiral pump, he avails himself of a process, the discovery of which was thought to do honour to one of the most renowned of the ancient mathematicians. When the land surveyor measures a field, he does it by rules laid down in a small Greek volume, which appeared 240 years before Christ. To come to our own country, and nearer to our own time, the steam engine, now applied to so many useful purposes, and every day discovering new powers, was one of the inventions, which, in the reign of Charles the first, employed the learned leisure of the marquis of Worcester. To the divine mind of sir Isaac Newton, we principally owe the quadrant, which, with Hadley's name, is now in the hands of every mariner.

But, to prove the general utility of science to commerce, it is unnecessary to travel back to the ancient history of other countries, or the former history of our own. At the instant I am speaking, science is advancing toward us with an invention, which to the latest posterity, will prove incalculably beneficial to humanity in general, and to commerce in particular. You have frequently read in your newspapers of the horrid effects of the explosion of a mine : a very recent newspaper has given an account of such a disaster. Now,—within these few weeks, one of those men,—the *homines centenarii*, as they were called by *Scaliger*, who exist but

once in a century, but who, when they do exist, elevate the country in which they are born, and even the age in which they live,—our illustrious countryman, sir Humphrey Davy, has discovered a process, by which this evil principle of nature is absolutely subdued, and all possibility of danger from it altogether removed.

A stronger proof of the utility of science cannot be required :—Perhaps, among those who frequent, or who may soon frequent, your library, or your chambers of experiment, there may be some, whose bosoms are pregnant with celestial fire, and who only want the facilities of acquiring knowledge, which these afford, to become, like that great man, leaders in science, and benefactors to humanity ; but who, without these, would live and die unknown and unknown. What a satisfaction must it be to the friends of the London Institution to call forth the energies of such men!

V.

Thus, in every age has science been subservient to commerce. *When they are separated*, science loses almost all her utility ; commerce almost all her dignity. *When they are united*, each grows with the growth, each strengthens with the strength of the other, and their powers appear unlimited. They ascend the heavens, delve the depths of the earth, and fill every climate that encourages them, with industry, energy, wealth, honour, and happiness. To civilization, to virtue, to religion, they open every climate ; they land them on every shore ; they spread them over every territory.

These being the happy effects of their union, must it not be the desire of all, who wish well to either,—of all true and enlightened friends to their country,—that every measure should be adopted, by which this union can be cemented and invigorated ? Permit me to add, that should science ever be neglected by this country, and encouraged by others, the commercial part of the

community would, in all probability, suffer most and soonest from the consequences.

In a conversation, which a very inveterate and acute, and once a very powerful enemy of England, held with a friend of mine at Elba, he spoke of her in terms of respect, and even admiration: but said:—"The term of the *transcendental glory* of England *must* now approach near its end. Years ago, *she* took a spring, and left the nations of the earth at a distance behind her; *these* will soon take their spring, and not having your burdens on commerce and the arts, will pass you."—Vain be the augury! We trust and feel it will. But, were there a ground for it, one powerful means of defeating it would most assuredly be, to promote the union of science and commerce; to stimulate science to every exertion likely to prove serviceable to the commercial energies of the community: to furnish commerce with the means of affording to science and her followers every facility of research and experiment; to invite science within your walls, and to establish, on a wise, an enlarged, and a dignified plan,—on a plan suited to the high character of a British merchant,—such institutions as that, which the ceremony of this day has placed under the protection of the city of London, and her opulent, honourable, and discerning inhabitants.

That to deserve well of their country, is their earnest wish, we all know; now, power or superfluous wealth is seldom so well employed, as in the encouragement of those, whose labours increase the knowledge, refine the taste, or elevate the genius of their countrymen. Those, who desire fair fame, have no such certain means of attaining it, as connecting their names with great literary institutions, and thus securing the gratitude of the artist and the scholar.

NOTE IV—referred to in page 208.

Mr. Parson's Problem, with its Solution, by the Reminiscent.

$$\text{Let } xy + zu = 444 \quad xz + yu = 180$$

$$xu + yz = 156 \quad xyzu = 5184$$

To determine the value of $x, y, z,$ and $u.$

$$5184$$

$$\text{1st. } zu = 444 - xy = \frac{\quad}{\quad}$$

$$xy$$

$$\therefore x^2y^2 - 444xy = -5184$$

$$x^2y^2 - 444xy + 49284 = 44100$$

$$\therefore xy = 222 \pm 210 = 432 \text{ or } 12$$

$$\text{And hence } zu = 12 \text{ or } 432$$

$$5184$$

$$\text{2dly. } yu = 180 - xz = \frac{\quad}{\quad}$$

$$xz$$

$$\therefore x^2z^2 - 180xz = -5184$$

$$x^2z^2 - 180xz + 8100 = 2916$$

$$\therefore xz = 90 \pm 54 = 144 \text{ or } 36$$

$$5184$$

$$\text{3dly. } yz = 156 - xu = \frac{\quad}{\quad}$$

$$xu$$

$$\therefore x^2u^2 - 156xu = -5184$$

$$x^2u^2 - 156xu + 6084 = 900$$

$$\therefore xu = 78 \pm 30 = 108 \text{ or } 48$$

$$\text{Hence, } xy = 432 \text{ or } 12 \quad zu = 12 \text{ or } 432$$

$$xz = 144 \text{ or } 36 \quad yu = 108 \text{ or } 48$$

$$\text{Now let } zu = 12 \quad xu = 108 \quad \text{and } xz = 144 \text{ or } 36$$

$$12 \quad 108$$

$$\text{Then } u = \frac{\quad}{z} = \frac{\quad}{x} \quad \therefore x = 92$$

$$z \quad x$$

$$x^2$$

$$\text{Hence } \frac{\quad}{9} = 144 \text{ or } 36 \quad \therefore x^2 = 1296 \text{ or } 324$$

$$9$$

$$\text{and } x = \pm 36 \text{ or } \pm 18$$

$$\text{and } \therefore z = \pm 4 \text{ or } \pm 2$$

$$\text{also } u = \pm 3 \text{ or } \pm 6$$

$$\text{and } y = \pm 12 \text{ or } \pm 24$$

Again, let $zu = 12$ $xu = 48$ and $xz = 144$ or 36
 $12 \quad 48$

$$\text{Then } u = \frac{12}{z} = \frac{48}{x} \therefore x = 4z$$

$$\text{Hence } \frac{x^2}{4} = 144 \text{ or } 36 \therefore x^2 = 576 \text{ or } 144$$

$$\begin{aligned} &\text{and } x = \pm 24 \text{ or } \pm 12 \\ &\text{and } \therefore z = \pm 6 \text{ or } \pm 3 \\ &\text{also } u = \pm 2 \text{ or } \pm 4 \\ &\text{and } y = \pm 18 \text{ or } \pm 36 \end{aligned}$$

Next, let $zu = 432$ $xu = 108$ and $xz = 144$ or 36
 $432 \quad 108$

$$\text{Then } u = \frac{432}{z} = \frac{108}{x} \therefore 4x = z$$

$$\text{Hence } 4x^2 = 144 \text{ or } 36 \therefore x^2 = 36 \text{ or } 9$$

$$\begin{aligned} &\text{and } x = \pm 6 \text{ or } \pm 3 \\ &\text{and } \therefore z = \pm 24 \text{ or } \pm 12 \\ &\text{also } u = \pm 18 \text{ or } \pm 36 \\ &\text{and } y = \pm 2 \text{ or } \pm 4 \end{aligned}$$

Lastly, let $zu = 432$ $xu = 48$ and $xz = 144$ or 36
 $432 \quad 48$

$$\text{Then } u = \frac{432}{z} = \frac{48}{x} \therefore 9x = z$$

$$\text{Hence } 9x^2 = 144 \text{ or } 36 \therefore x^2 = 16 \text{ or } 4$$

$$\begin{aligned} &\text{and } x = \pm 4 \text{ or } \pm 2 \\ &\text{and } \therefore z = \pm 36 \text{ or } \pm 18 \\ &\text{also } u = \pm 12 \text{ or } \pm 24 \\ &\text{and } y = \pm 3 \text{ or } \pm 6 \end{aligned}$$

Hence if

$$\begin{aligned} x &= \pm 36, \pm 18, \pm 24, \pm 12, \pm 6, \pm 3, \pm 4, \pm 2, \\ y &= \pm 12, \pm 24, \pm 18, \pm 36, \pm 2, \pm 4, \pm 3, \pm 6, \\ z &= \pm 4, \pm 2, \pm 6, \pm 3, \pm 24, \pm 12, \pm 36, \pm 18, \\ u &= \pm 3, \pm 6, \pm 2, \pm 4, \pm 18, \pm 36, \pm 12, \pm 24. \end{aligned}$$

The answers must be taken vertically, and considered either as all positive or all negative.

It does not appear, whether Mr. Porson framed the equation by any rule or scheme in the established theory

of numbers. Perhaps it was by reflection, and repeated trials, applied to the object in view, without any system by which similar equations may be constructed.

NOTE V. referred to in page 266.

Course of Study of Modern History.

A FULL knowledge of the history of France and of the principal events in the history of the Continent,—I. From the destruction of the Roman empire till the reformation ; —II. From the reformation, till the reign of Louis the fourteenth ;—and—III. From his reign till the present time ;—may be obtained by perusing the following works : all of them are interesting and instructive, and written with great elegance.

I.

"*L'Histoire de Charlemagne, by M. Gaillard,*" 4 vols. 8vo.* conducts the reader from the beginning of the French history, till the house of Capet.

The next event of importance in the history of France, is the repeated wars between her and England. The history of them is to be found in Hume, and all other writers of the general history of England ; but it is told in a more agreeable manner by father d'Orleans, in the second and third volumes of his "*Histoire des Révolutions d'Angleterre,*" 4 vols 8vo.†

While these wars were at their height, the Crusades began ; an interesting history of them is to be found in the two first volumes of the "*Histoire des Chevaliers de Malthe, by the Abbé de Vertot,*"† 5 vols. 8vo. and the "*Esprit de Croisades,*" 4 vols. 8vo.

These are followed by the French invasion of Italy,

* In Hookham's Catalogue, No. 14,529.

† Ib. 14,935.

‡ Ib. 14,595.

excellently related by the Abbé de Bos, in his "*Histoire de la Ligue de Cambray*," 3 vols. 4to.*

Here it might be proper to rest; and to take a short view of the general state of France and Italy during the middle ages. This is given in three very interesting works,—Mr. Berington's "*Lives of Heloisa and Abelard*,"† in two thin quarto volumes;—" *La Conjuration de Rienzi*, by Father Cerçeau," a Jesuit, in 1 vol. 8vo.‡ and the "*Mémoires pour servir à la Vie de Pétrarque*, by the Abbé de la Sade," 4 vols. 4to.§

II.

Mr. Berington's "*History of Literature during the Middle Ages*," presents the best account in print of that important subject;|| and Mr. Ruscoe's|| "*Lives of Leo the tenth and Lorenzo di Medici*," contain an interesting account of the revival of literature. In reference to this period "*Cardinal de Retz's Conjuration de Fêtsque*,"¶ should also be read.

After which, "*L'Esprit de la Ligue*," 3 vols. 8vo.** than which the continent has not produced a better history, and the "*Intrigues du Cabinet*, by M. de Anquetil," 4 vols. 8vo.†† should be perused. Those, whom quartos do not frighten, will be delighted in the highest degree by the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth volumes of "*Father Daniel's Histoire de France*;"‡‡ they contain the life of Louis the thirteenth, by father Griffét; a most interesting history of a most interesting reign.

Here the eyes should be again turned on the adjacent state of the continent, and "*Vertot's Histoire de la Révolution de Portugal*,"§§ and his "*Histoire de la Révolution*

* This is not in Hookham's Catalogue, and is rare.

† In Hookham's Catalogue, 48.

‡ Ib. 13,813.

§ Ib. 462.

|| Hookham has this work, but it is not in his Catalogue.

¶ In Hookham's Catalogue 15,689, after the Memoirs.

** Ib. 14,262.

†† Ib. 15,148.

‡‡ Not in Hookham's Catalogue.

§§ In Hookham's Catalogue 16,851.

de Suède,"* each of them contained in one vol. 8vo. should be read: and here, perhaps, "*Mr. Butler's Revolutions of the German Empire*,"† may be usefully perused.

III.

The "*Mémoires du Cardinal Retz*,"‡ 6 vols. 8vo. which give an account of the troubles in the early part of Louis the fourteenth's reign, are universally read; the principal events of that time are to be found in the "*Intrigues du Cabinet*," already mentioned. After which, the two following works,—"*Voltaire's Siècle de Louis quatorze*,"§ 2 vols. 8vo. and the "*Abbé d'Anquetil's Louis quatorze et sa Cour*,"|| bring us to the present time. It only remains to mention, the Bible of French politicians, "*Histoire du Traité de Westphalie*," 6 vols. 8 vo. by *Father Bougeant*. It contains an account equally interesting and instructive, of the war of thirty years; all the political negotiations of France, from the league to the peace of Westphalia.

If the reader is alarmed at Mr. Roscoe's quartos, he will find the substance of them very agreeably told by *Varillas* in his "*Anecdotes de Florence*."¶ As a most interesting historical novel, for it deserves no better name, I beg leave to recommend the "*Conjuration contre Venise de l'Abbé de St. Real*."**

* These are not in Hookham's Catalogue, but are easily procured.

† At Hookham's, but not in his Catalogue.

‡ In Hookham's Catalogue 15,689.

§ Ib. 16,405.

|| Ib. 15,384.

¶ Ib. 13,216.

** Ib. 16,300.

NOTE VI. referred to in p. 247.

*A letter addressed to Mrs. Edward Jerneingham; on
Ancient and Modern Music.*

MADAM,

I sit down to perform my promise, of committing to paper some observations on music. With this view, I shall have the honour to offer you some miscellaneous observations,—I. On the Greek and Roman music : II. On the music of the Middle Ages : in which, 1st, its notation ; 2dly, the stave ; 3dly, the gamut and hexachords of Guido ; 4thly, the division of notes ; 5thly, musical bars ; and 6thly, music in parts, will be successively mentioned : III. Advancing to modern music, 1st, the Flemish,—2dly the Italian,—3dly, the German,—and 4thly, the French schools of music will be noticed ;—5thly, then the English school of music, adverting occasionally to the anthem, the serious glee, and the oratorio : IV. I shall then notice the attempts in this country to imitate the Italian style of singing : V. And afterward give some account of the Gregorian chaunt ; here I shall mention its chief peculiarities ; 1st, that it is confined to unison ; 2dly, that it almost absolutely rejects adventitious sharps and flats : 3dly, that the tonic or final note of all its melodies is confined to four notes of the octave ; 4thly, its division into eight ecclesiastic tones ; 5thly, the peculiar nature of their respective dominant notes ; 6thly, the want in each of some tone or semitone, which modern music would require in the series of notes nearest corresponding with it ; 7thly, I shall then offer some general remarks : VI. And finish my letter with our common wish for the restoration of the Gregorian chaunt in the *Roman Catholic* chapels.

I must observe that, in every part of this letter, I speak of the Gregorian chaunt according to the state in which it was left by the first pope of that name ; and that, by modern music, I mean that which was introduced in consequence of the hexachords of Guido, and which

UT que ant la xis RE so na re fibris M I ra ges torum FA mu bi tu orum

S O L ve pollu ti LA bi i re alium Sancte Io an nes

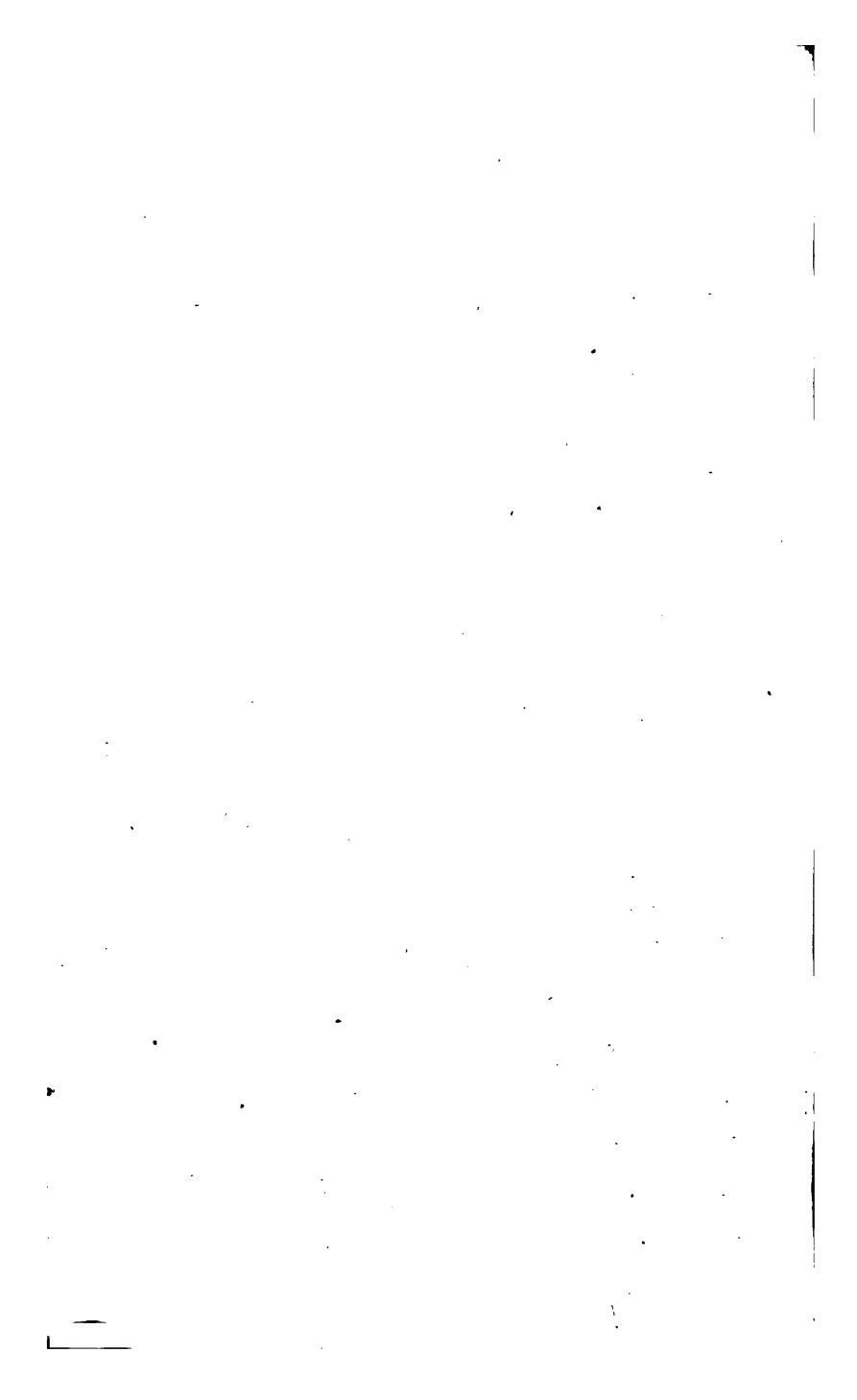
The following diagram is copied from the History of Music of Sir John Hawkins

G A B C D E F G A B b

d e f gg aa bb cc dd ee

Durum Hexachord
 Molle Hexachord
 Durum Hexachord
 Molle Hexachord
 Durum Hexachord
 Molle Hexachord

Ut Re Mi Fa Sol La
 Ut Re Mi Fa Sol La
 Ut Re Mi Fa Sol La
 Ut Re Mi Fa Sol La
 Ut Re Mi Fa Sol La
 Ut Re Mi Fa Sol La



has been gradually improved from that time to the present.

I fear that I meditate a great trial of your patience.

I.

Greek and Roman Music.

THE Greek music consisted of consecutive tetrachords. In their nomenclature, a tetrachord denoted a series of notes, each of which was a tone, or a half tone. Two consecutive tetrachords are generally exemplified by supposing two series of them; the second placed immediately after and immediately ascending above the first: the lowest note of the lower series being *ut*, its highest *fa*: the lowest note of the upper series being *sol*, its highest *ut*. The two series, thus placed, compose the modern octave.

The tetrachord was divided into *three scales*: the diatonic, chromatic, and enharmonic. In each, *ut* and *fa*, and *sol* and *ut*, were permanent or stationary. In the *diatonic*, the notes, as in the modern scale, were, *ut*, *re*, *mi*, and *fa*; or *sol*, *la*, *si*, and *ut*; and thus consisted of two full tones, and a semitone; in the *chromatic*, the notes were *ut*, *ut* sharp, *re*, and *fa*; or *sol*, *sol* sharp, *la*, and *ut*; and thus consisted of the first note, a semitone, a second semitone, and a minor third. In the *enharmonic* the notes were *ut*, *ut* raised by a quarter tone, *ut* raised by a further quarter tone, and *fa*; or *sol*, *sol* raised by a quarter tone, *sol* raised by a further quarter tone, and *ut*; and thus consisted of the first note; the first note raised by a quarter tone, the first note raised by a further quarter tone, and a major third. They were thrown into numerous subdivisions; but these, probably, were rather objects of mathematical research, than rules for practice.

The author of the *Young Anacharsis*,—(a better scholar than myself would cite a graver authority,)—transcribes a passage from a Greek musician, which seems to indicate that the Greeks found it very difficult to sing

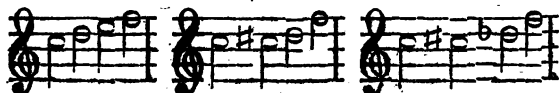
in the enharmonic scale. At present it is considered a great difficulty : few voices can rise or fall, without some intermediate gradation, to the quarter tone of a distant note. One of the most scientific musicians in England, told me, that he thought it doubtful whether any performer could sound, at once distinctly and rapidly, two consecutive tetrachords in the enharmonic scale.

But the difficulty, however great, was subdued by the Greeks, as the quarter tone regularly occurs in their scale. This, it is extremely difficult to comprehend ; and it has been found impossible to adapt a frequency of quarter tones for any practical purpose. The work, in which the Greek system of music appears to be best explained, is a paper of sir George Shuckburgh, (No. 441,) in the *Philosophical Transactions*. But, without intense study, it is impossible to comprehend it. A few months before he died, doctor Burney said to me, that " he himself never understood the Greek music, or found any one that did understand it."

The Romans adopted from the Greeks the diatonic scale, and, partially, at least, the chromatic : but they rejected the enharmonic, and many of the subdivisions of the two other scales.

All modern music is in the diatonic scale, with the occasional admixture of the chromatic semitone, and the enharmonic quarter tone : but the last is very seldom introduced. One is naturally led to suppose, that the Grecian music admitted a similar admixture ; but it seems to be agreed that their airs were either altogether in the diatonic, the chromatic, or the enharmonic scale. To every modern ear this must appear impossible.

The first of the following diagrams represents the tetrachord in the diatonic scale ; the second represents it in the chromatic ; the third, in the enharmonic :



But here we must take care to attend to an important distinction in semitones; particularly as those, whose experience in music does not extend beyond keyed instruments, and practising the voice by them, seldom understand it; though, for accurate singing, or accurate performance on a stringed instrument, particular attention to it is absolutely necessary.

In keyed instruments, the short key between the two long keys, serves to represent both the sharp of the note below, and the flat of the note above: but there is a material difference between them; the interval from *ut* natural to *re* flat, being greater than that from *ut* natural to *ut* sharp. Thus, if we suppose a tone to be divided into eight commas, (which is sufficiently accurate for the purpose under consideration,) the interval between *ut* natural and *re* natural, will consist of all the eight: and then, the interval between *ut* natural and *re* flat, will comprehend five of the eight, and the interval between *ut* natural and *ut* sharp, will comprehend three. But we have seen, that, in keyed instruments, the same key serves both for *ut* sharp and *re* flat. To remedy, in a certain degree, this imperfection, the tones from *sol* to *la*, and from *re* to *mi*, are divided in the Temple organ, and on some other organs, into three parts, by two distinct keys, one for *sol* sharp, and the other for *la* flat; and one for *re* sharp, the other for *mi* flat.

This general imperfection of keyed instruments has made some professors think that persons, whose singing it is intended to carry to the utmost perfection of which it is susceptible, should be taught by a violin, and not by a forte piano. *Mara*, it is said, was instructed in this manner. It is to be observed, that the only keyed instrument, which expresses a quarter tone, is the clavi-chord, an instrument scarcely known in this country; but frequently found on the tables of foreign professors, and in the cells of nuns. It is very portable, and does not disturb the inmates of an adjoining apartment. Accustomed as we are to the grand piano-forte, we think

contemptuously of the clavichord : but it was upon the clavichord that the elder Bachs performed their wonders.

II.

The music of the Middle Ages.

Few things show more than the gamut, how greatly art enters into combinations, apparently natural. Most persons who have not attentively considered the subject, suppose that the gamut consists of sounds naturally of the power, and naturally rising and falling in the order in which they now stand : so that a child as soon as his voice is formed, would of himself, and without the least tuition, sing the gamut both in the ascending and descending series ; and make the lowest note of the octave, or, which is the same, the lowest note of the tetrachord, if he sang in the descending series, and the highest of either, if he sang in the ascending series, its ultimate or final note. But, to form the gamut, great mathematical research, and many experiments, were necessary. It was not till the ninth century, that the hexachord was raised to a septenary, and it was not till the 17th, that the 7th note received an appropriate name. The former was preceded by the discovery of notation and of the staff or stave.

II. 1.

Notation.

FOR their system of musical notation, the Greeks adopted the letters of their alphabet ; the Romans used for it their own capital letters A. B. C. D. E. F. G. These formed the first septenary ; H. served for the beginning of the second, and this closed with O. But as, without the final octave, a septenary is imperfect in theory, and unsatisfactory to the ear, the octave note was insensibly added to the series, and formed its regular close : H. serving both for the end of the first and the beginning of the second octave : this ended in P.

To show to which of the three scales, the diatonic, the chromatic, or the enharmonic, the note belonged, and, where the scale was raised above the first series, to describe the degree of its elevation, the Greeks varied the form of the letter. Each variation formed a note, and the whole formed 1,620 notes. These constituted the Greek scale; it is evident that to acquire the knowledge and ready use of it, prodigious labour was necessary.

It has been observed that the Romans rejected the enharmonic scale, and many of the Grecian subdivisions, of the diatonic and chromatic scales. This reduced their notation, comparatively speaking, to a very small number of notes. They are supposed to have been limited to 15. Pope Gregory the Great, reduced them to the seven first letters of the alphabet. The sounds in the gravest or lowest octave, he expressed by the capital letters, A. B. C. D. E. F. G.; the sounds in the octave next above it, he expressed by the minuscules, a. b. c. d. e. f. g.; the sounds in the octave above this, he expressed by double minuscules, aa. bb. cc. dd. ee. ff. gg.

The letters of Pope Gregory were afterward abandoned for notes or points.

II. 2.

The Stave.

A CERTAIN number of parallel lines, rising one above the other, forms what is called by some writers, the stave; by others, the staff. These musical lines were unknown to the Greeks and Romans.

They first came into use in the tenth century. The letters or notes were placed sometimes on the spaces only, and sometimes on the lines; but it seems probable, that, before the time of Guido, the spaces and lines were never used together in the writing of the same piece of music. Thus it required eight lines for the notation of the octave. Afterward notes were placed both on the line and the

space; the lines were then reduced to four. We shall see that the Guidonian system of hexachords, made it expedient to increase them to five. As the science and practice of music extended, occasional additions were made to them. These, from their being placed under particular notes only, and not drawn out through the whole length of the line, were originally called *Ledgers* that is, *Legers* or *Lights*. At present, (particularly since the insertion of the additional keys on the forte piano,) a complete, and more than a complete staff of notes, is occasionally inserted in musical compositions, over the highest line of the stave. Formerly keyed instruments seldom contained more than five septenaries, as they did not descend lower than SOL SOL, or ascend higher than RE RE. At present the grand forte piano embraces forty keys, or nearly six complete septenaries.

II. 3.

The Gamut.

It is known that the Gamut was invented, or at least brought into fashion and use, by *Guido*, a monk of the Benedictine monastery of Pomposa, born in 999, at Arezzo, a small town in Tuscany. Hearing the monks sing, in a church at Rome, a hymn in Sapphic verse, in honour of St. John, he observed, that the first syllable of the first word of each hemistich, rose regularly a tone, or a half tone higher, than the first note of the first syllable of the last preceding hemistich; so as to form a complete Greek hexachord, beginning with the key note and ascending to the sixth. The words of the hymn are,

*Ut queant laxis Resonare fibris,
Mira gestorum Famuli tuorum,
Solve polluti Labii reatum,
Sancte Joannes!*

In the tune or melody of the hymn, as it was then sung, the tones of the syllables *ut, re, mi, fa, sol, and la,*

were sounded exactly on the note, in which those syllables are now sung in the gamut.

Guido, therefore, supposed four parallel lines to be placed, and the lowest line to represent the sound *ut*; the space between this and the parallel line above it, to represent the sound *re*; the second parallel line to represent the sound *mi*; the space between it and the parallel line above it, to represent *fa*; the third parallel line to represent *sol*; and the space between it and the parallel line above it, to represent *la*. This formed a complete hexachord, or an ascending series, consisting of the first note, a full tone, another full tone, a half tone, a full tone, and another full tone. But, as the human voice extends to a greater compass, he supposed a second hexachord to begin at *fa*, and to rise, through *sol*, *la*, *si* flat, and *ut*, to *re*; and a third to begin at *G*, and to ascend through *la*, *si* natural, *ut*, and *re*, to *mi*. To effect this, he adopted the gamma of the Greek alphabet, as a symbol for *ut*, so that, wherever it was placed, it was to represent *ut*.

It is to be observed, that the hymn, which suggested the gamut to Guido, is not now sung by the Romish choirs, in the melody, in which he heard it. But this melody has been discovered in the library of the cathedral church of Sens. A copy of it, and of the representation given by sir John Hawkins of the hexachords of Guido, is inserted in the plate opposite to this page.

It must be observed, that, in the second hexachord, *si* natural is to be admitted; and *si* flat rejected; and that, in the third hexachord, *si* natural is to be admitted, and *si* flat rejected. Thus the hexachord which begins with *ut*, is the first, or *natural* hexachord; that, which begins with *fa*, is the second, or *soft* hexachord; that, which begins with *sol*, is the third, or *harsh* hexachord. The representation given by sir John Hawkins of the hexachords, will be found to comprehend twenty notes, and to contain six generations of hexachords.

Such is the supposed improvement of Guido. His contemporaries speak of it in terms of the highest praise;

They say, that it enabled a boy to learn in one year, what, before that time, he could scarcely learn in ten. Some assert, that he received the knowledge of it by divine inspiration. Your correspondent begs leave to say, that to him, the merit of Guido's system of hexachords has ever appeared incomprehensible. Surely the diatonic tetrachords of the Greeks, afforded a scale much more simple, and much better constructed, both for practice and theory. It must be obvious to every one, that the final note of a tetrachord, both in the ascending and descending series, sounds to the ear as a regular close of the preceding series; and that the final note of a hexachord in the ascending series, sounds more as the beginning of a new series than as a close of a former.

Whatever may be the merit or defects of the Guidonian system, it remained in universal use till the close of the seventeenth century, when *Le Maire*, a French musician, is said to have assigned the syllable *si*, to the final note of the septenary, or the note between *la* and *ut*. This completely restored the Greek diatonic scale of tetrachords; and, by appropriating different letters or syllables to express the second tetrachord, was an improvement upon it.

It must be added, that the labours of musical beginners were considerably shortened by the introduction of the *si*. Your correspondent was one of the unfortunate beings, who learned the musical notation, by *A re*, *B mi*, *C fa ut*, *D sol re*, *E la mi*, *F fa ut*, *G sol re ut*; and the rest of that gibberish. In those days, masters were not fonder than they now are, of giving explanations. Had they told us, that the reason for there being more than one syllable added to the literal name of a note, was its appertaining to more than one hexachord, and showed the different places of these syllables in the different hexachords, it would have been food for the mind, and assisted the memory. But, speaking generally, no such explanation was given. It is surprising how late it was in the last century, before the very intricate solmization by the hexachords was abandoned, and the use of the *si* be-

came general. In England, the *si* was adopted later than in any other part of musical Europe. This puts me in mind, that, till within these few years, the accounts in some departments of the exchequer were kept in the Roman mode of numerical notation, though the Arabic mode is so greatly its superior; and the practice of a single quarter of an hour, must convince even the dullest understanding, of its infinite superiority.

II. 4.

Division of Notes.

WE now come to the *Cantus mensurabilis*, as it was termed in the middle age,—or the invention of musical notes of different durations in time. Till the period, of which we are now speaking, the only division of notes was into the *long* and the *short* note; the latter being half the duration of the former. But sometimes, in consequence of a point being added to it, a preceding note was lengthened by one half of its regular duration; and that proportion of it was taken from the following note.

The further division of musical measure seems to be generally ascribed to *Magister Franco*, who died in 1083; it was extended by him to the *minum*; our countryman, Morley, says, “that the ancient musicians esteemed this the shortest note singable.” By degrees it was extended to the *demisemiquaver*, or a note with three hooks. But, even in the beginning of the last century, these subdivisions were little used. At present we have notes with five hooks, or quarter *demisemiquavers*.

II. 5.

Musical Bars.

EVERY musical piece is divided into equal portions of time, called measures. These are ascertained to the eye by straight lines, called bars, drawn down the stave; so that all the notes contained between two bars, constitute one measure. In the *canto fermo* of the Romish church,

two bars were used; one, that went down the whole length of the stave; the other, that went down half its length. They were introduced for the purpose of allowing to the singer a greater or less space of time for taking his breath. But, both in some manuscript and some printed books of the *canto fermo*, a bar is placed by mistake at the end of each word.

The use of bars is not of great antiquity, as a higher period than the middle of the 16th century cannot be assigned to them; and it was not till the middle of the 17th, that they became general. They are constantly used in the "*Ayres and Dialogues of Henry Lawes*," published in 1653. This, it is supposed, gave them fashion and currency in England. It is probable that Milton, in the sonnet, which he addressed to Lawes, alluded to this circumstance in the lines, with which it begins:

"Henry! whose tuneful and *well-measured* song,
First taught our English music how to span
Words, with just notes and accent, not to scan
With Midas' ears, committing short and long!"

It is observable, that, within these fifty years, *Martini* published in Italy, in elegant characters, a set of canons without bars. So much are we now accustomed to bars, that several vocal performers of great eminence, into whose hands your correspondent put these canons, could not sing them at sight.

II. 6.

Descant, or Music in Parts.

"*CECILIA's* world of sound," as the organ is happily termed by Mr. Collins, in his ode, entitled "*The Passions*," is an instrument of considerable antiquity. The *water organ* seems to have been invented in the time of the second Ptolemy Evergêtes. The *wind organ* is mentioned in a Greek epigram in the *Anthologia*, attributed to the Emperor Julian, and seems to have become common in the time of Vitiges, a Gothic monarch, who reigned in the beginning of the 6th century. All writers

agree that the first ORGAN seen in France, was sent, in 757, by Constantine Copronimus, the Byzantine emperor, to Pepin, the founder of the Carlovingian dynasty; and that soon afterward, it was introduced into churches, in every part of the western empire. It then began to be used in accompanying the voice.

Whether, before this time, either in Greece or Rome, or during the middle ages, music in parts, or simultaneous harmony by settled rules, was known, has more than once been a subject of profound discussion. The better opinion appears to be, that, till this time, it was altogether unknown; and that at first, the organ was played in unison; but that, by degrees, the facility of extracting from the organ different sounds at the same time, caused "the concord of sweet sounds" to be remarked, and practised both upon the instrument and with voices, and in an union of one to the other. The minor third seems to have first caught the ear; and it became customary for two voices to sing in unison till the penultimate or antepenultimate syllable; then, to divide these into a minor third, and to close in unison. Even after the middle of the last century, this was thought an accomplishment, in places at a distance from the capital. It was termed *organizing*. After the accompaniment of the organ to the voice, in a different note, became common, the accompaniment generally moved in fourths, when it was above the voice; and in fifths, when it was under it.

At first, harmony was confined to two parts, and called *Descant*, or *Deux-chants*, from the two performers. It was successively increased, and in proportion to its increase was called organization in *triplo*, *quartuplo* and *quintuplo*. To *Magister Franco*, whom we have already mentioned, *Descant*, or music in parts, had great obligations, and it was considerably advanced by *John de Muris*. But all preceding writers on the theory of music were eclipsed by *Fanchino Gaffurio*, elected, in 1484, *Maestro di Capella* of the cathedral church of Milan, and professor of music in that city. He left five treatises;

that, in the greatest request, is his *Prattica Musica*, published at Milan in 1496.

The term Descant, made way for those of *Faux bourdon* and *Contrepoint*. Both were at first extremely simple; each note of each part of the harmony being set against the other. Generally speaking, in *Faux bourdon*, the air was the highest part, and the parts forming the harmony were under it. In *Contrepoint* it was the reverse; the air being the lowest part, and the notes which formed the harmony being raised upon it. In the composition of each, particularly the latter, there was learning and contrivance, but little melody.

Into counterpoint, and particularly into one place, where a person would least expect to meet with it,—the service of the church,—*improvisatory harmony* was in general use in France, Flanders, and Germany. Taking the chant, as a ground, these strange performers raised upon it an extempore accompaniment of two, three, or even four parts. It is obvious, that, from the ignorance which each performer must have of the notes, which his companions would sing, the faults against harmony, even when such an exhibition was made by the most scientific performers, must have been frequent, and often of the most disgusting nature. Some general rules for avoiding them were laid down: but many cases occurred, to which they did not apply: and, in general, they were altogether disregarded. The consequence was, a cacophony, which no one, who has not heard it, can imagine. Every performer sung, or rather bawled out, as loud as he could, any notes, or any divisions, which appeared to him to bear any relation to the note of the chant; while, at the same time, a wind instrument, called *the serpent*, roared throughout the whole. The enraged musician, in Hogarth's engraving, never heard any thing more horrible than these extemporaneous counterpoints of French, Flemish, or German choristers.

It remains to add, under this head, that the word "counterpoint" has long ceased to have the appropriate meaning, which we have mentioned: it is now synony-

mous with harmony. By a contrapuntist, we now understand a person skilled in the laws of musical harmony, or addicted to the study of them.

III.

Modern Music.

To present you with some view of this part of the subject, on which your correspondent has the honour to address you, he will trouble you with some miscellaneous thoughts,—1st, on the Flemish; 2dly, on the Italian; 3dly, on the German; and 4thly, on the French school of music; 5thly, a short account of the English school of music, with a succinct notice of the anthem, the serious glee, and the oratorio, will then follow.

III. 1.

The Flemish School of Music.

THIS school occupies, in point of time, an intermediate era between the music of the middle ages and modern music. The wars between the Guelphs and Ghibellins, and the irruption of the French into Italy, drove many musicians of distinction into the low countries. At this time, these were in the height of their prosperity. The wealth and splendour of their commercial towns, placed the dukes of Burgundy, their sovereigns, on a level with the greatest monarchs, and enabled their principal merchants to display such magnificence in their dress, their buildings, and their mode of living, as excited the envy of the noblest princes of Europe. In 1301, when Joanna of Navarre, the wife of Philip Le Bel, the king of France, was at Bruges, she was so much struck with its grandeur and wealth, and particularly with the splendid appearance of the wives of the citizens, that she was moved, by female envy, to cry out with indignation, “I thought that I had been the only queen here; but I find that there are many hundreds more.”

To this scene of magnificence and gaiety, the fugitive musicians of Italy repaired, and founded a school of music, which, for half a century, gave law to Europe. Their pre-eminence is noticed by Guiccardini, in his "*Account of the Low Countries*." Its style of music may be termed the *Florid Counterpoint*. It partook much of the ancient counterpoint; but was more scientific, more varied, and more extensive. Neither the notes of the different parts, nor the syllables, nor even the words, were, as in that music, kept in strict opposition to each other; divisions on a single syllable, and occasional pauses, were admitted; the contexture of the parts was more simple, there was more air, and the whole proceeded with more rapidity. At the head of the contrapuntists of this school, was *John de Muris*, who has been mentioned. It may be added, for the honour of the harmony of our Island, that there is some reason to contend that he was of English birth. But, as a composer, he appears to have been excelled by *Josquin de Prés*.

Soon after the revival of letters, counterpoint found its way into Italy. Under the hands of the immortal *Palestrina*, it became simple, elegant, and grand. To this moment, no compositions for the church are at once so proper and so fine. The style of music attained its perfection under *Luca di Marenzio*. One of the greatest pleasures, which a person who has real taste for harmony, and is skilled in it, can receive, is to hear the madrigals of Marenzio, and some of his contemporaries, well executed.

III. 2.

The Italian School of Music.

BEAUTIFUL as the florid counterpoint, under the hands of the great masters, whom we have mentioned, most certainly was, still it constantly laboured under this great imperfection, that, in all such compositions, the melody

was altogether overpowered by the harmony, so that it was calculated to satisfy the eye more than to please the ear. From this state of thralldom, melody was emancipated by *Leo*, *Scarlatti*, *Durante*, *Steffani*, *Clari*, and *Marcello*. Allowing to harmony its due measure of importance, they assigned to melody its just pre-eminence. With these composers, the golden age of music began. Several duets and fuller pieces of *Steffani* have come in my way; the published Madrigals of *Clari*, the Psalms of *Marcello*, are familiar to me; but the duets of *DURANTE*!—there are not in music more highly finished compositions. The late Miss Seward used to say, that if she wished to put a young man's taste for poetry to trial, she would place in his hands the *Lycidas* of Milton,—(would not his *Comus* be a more proper work?)—and ask him his opinion of it. To try the taste of a young person for music, he should hear the *Duets* of *Durante*. If he be not pleased, or even, if he do not feel something more than pleasure, when he hears them, he may make a respectable amateur; but it will be quite clear that he has no real soul for music. It has seldom happened to me to mention the name of *Durante* to an Italian professor of decided eminence, whose eyes have not glistened with admiration and delight at hearing it. *Sacchini* has been seen to kneel, and kiss with reverence the wonderful volume. To *Durante*, *Steffani* is second, but is not his rival. Our late queen, while she cultivated music, was very partial to *Steffani*, and took great pains to procure his works. Her majesty's was supposed to be the best collection of them in existence. It is much to be lamented that the compositions of *Durante* and *Steffani* are not more generally known. The immortal *Stabat Mater* of *Pergolesi*, has rendered the name of that composer famous in England. The resemblance between the first bars of its first movement, and the first bars of the celebrated trio in *Acis and Galatea*, is very striking. As *Acis and Galatea* was performed in 1732, and the *Stabat* was not performed before 1737, the probability is, that, if there were plagiarism, the Italian was the plagiarist.

The year 1597 is generally assigned for the commencement of the opera. The invention of recitative, or simple musical tones raised above speech, yet below singing, preceded it by a century. It is ascribed to *Pulci*; it is said, that, in this kind of simple melody, he sung, after the manner of the ancient rhapsodists, his *Morgante Maggiore*, in 1450, at the table of Lorenzo di Medici. About 150 years after this time, some Florentine noblemen employed two of their countrymen to write and set to music, a drama of *Orfeo*, performed in 1597. It was a perfect Opera, the dialogue being musically recited, the airs sung, the actors dressed in character, and accompanying both their recitatives and their airs with theatric action. But the instrumental accompaniment was not very considerable. We know, that, in another opera, composed about this time, the accompaniment consisted of a harpsichord, played behind the scenes, a large guitar, a large lute, and a viol de gamba. Dancing, which has now acquired so much importance in musical representations, obtained a place in the musical drama by slow degrees. It seems to have obtained a complete ascendancy, in 1781, when, *horresco referens*,—the house chatted, while *Facchierotti* sang; and, was perfectly silent, when *Vestris* danced.

To obtain a general view of the music of Italy, it may be proper to follow its geographical division into its higher, central, and lower regions. The first, includes the *Venetian and Lombard* schools; the second, those of *Rome and Bologna*; the third, includes the *Napolitan*. The first is said to be distinguished by energy; the second, by science, purity, and simple dignity; the third, by vivacity and expression. Much of this may be thought imaginary. Generally speaking, the music of Italy may be said to have been first expanded into grandeur and copiousness by *Vinci and Pergolesi*, and to have reached its summit under *Jomelli*. Since that time the Italian School has never been without most respectable composers; but they have been rather pleasing than imposing. For elegance and fancy, they may be justly men-

tioned in the highest terms of eulogy ; but the praise of sublimity or pathos, they have seldom merited.

III. 3.

The German School.

TILL Haydn and Mozart appeared, *Hass* was certainly the first of German composers. He chose *Vinci* and the other early Italian masters for his models. In elegance, simplicity, and grandeur he equalled them, and excelled them in grace and effect. But his character is better known in this country than his compositions. Considering his acknowledged reputation, and that the style of his music is particularly adapted to the taste of an English audience, it is surprising that we should know so little of his musical compositions.

Haydn, and, till lately, *Mozart*, were principally known to us by their instrumental music. The full pieces of the former were thought to be unequalled, till *Beethoven* attracted the public attention. On account of its greater simplicity, colloquial cast, good nature and incessant epigram, the music of Haydn will always be more popular ; but, in the opinion of some judges, *Beethoven* is more sublime. Some assert, at least plausibly, that the public ear is not yet sufficiently informed, to appreciate his music ; but that the time will come, when he will be thought at least equal to Haydn and Mozart. His oratorio of *Christ on the Mountain of Olives*, is a work of extraordinary pathos, and abounds with terrible beauties.

It may be observed that both Haydn and Mozart wrote for instruments, rather than the voice. The consequence is, that the melody seldom continues long in one part, but is distributed through all the parts ; so that it cannot be seized by unlearned hearers ; or even by the learned, unless they are accustomed to the symphonious arrangement of melody. In the celebrated *Don Giovanni* of Mozart, this is very observable.

III. 4.

The French School.

Most sincerely subscribing to the anathema, which Rousseau has pronounced against French Music, and to which all Europe, except France herself, has assented by acclamation, you will not be troubled with any account of it in these lines. But you will not perhaps be displeased to find in them, the following short historical outline of the history of the French Drama.

The scenic exhibitions of Rome did not survive her; the theatres themselves, and all their pride, pomp, and circumstance, perished in the general wreck, to which the irruptions of the barbarians reduced the arts and sciences of the Roman world.

The first glimmering of the restoration of the drama is discernible in *some exhibitions*, which generally made a part of the national feasts of the *Carlovingian* monarchs. These feasts were opened by a grand high mass; the deliberation followed, and was succeeded by a sumptuous dinner. After dinner, shows of foreign beasts, and of animals trained to particular tricks and exercises, were exhibited; and ballad singers, harpers, and jugglers, the rude forefathers of the modern drama, also attended, and contributed their share to the festivities of the day.

Chivalry introduced into them magnificence, order, and refinement. It is probable that the *tilts and tournaments* of the feudal ages excelled whatever ancient or modern times have produced in the form of public spectacle; and to these we owe the revival of the scenic art. *The provençal bards* often appeared at them in companies, and recited tragic or comic poems. By degrees, they formed them into dialogues; and to make their dialogues more interesting, put on a dress and gait suitable to those of the persons whose characters they assumed. From this, the passage to an exhibition, possessing all the substantial requisites of a *Scenic Enter-*

tainment, was easy ; and as nothing could be more congenial than these exhibitions, to the taste and manners of a chivalrous age, they soon attained a high degree of order. But there was more of pageantry in them than of dialogue, and every thing about them had a military air. Devotion, however, had some share in them ; so that there were both secular and religious dramas. They were distinguished into *mysteries*, in which, remarkable events in the scriptures, or in the lives of the saints, were represented : *allegories*, in which, faith, hope, charity, sin and death, and other mystic beings, were introduced to speak and act in personifications ; and *moralties*, in which, sometimes real, and sometimes fictitious characters were brought into scenic action, and a general moral was drawn from the exhibition. Of these entertainments, the mysteries were most popular : they were sometimes performed in churches. "We cannot sufficiently wonder," says the president Hénault (*Remarques particulières sur l'histoire de France, troisième race*), "that these mysteries were represented under the sanction of the most respectable magistrates. Jesus Christ, the Holy Virgin, whatever is most sacred in religion, was brought on the stage in a guise of familiarity, to which we cannot reconcile ourselves. But the difference of the times solves the enigma ; and while it shows the ignorance and simplicity, proves the good-humoured innocence of the age, which was fond of such exhibitions. We must not suppose that they were profanations of religion ; they were spectacles, which, by placing religious subjects before their eyes, in a manner highly calculated to impress them on their conceptions and feelings, conveyed instruction to a gross and ignorant people. And after all, are we not fallen on times, which make us regret this age of simplicity, in which there was so little of false reasoning, and so much of honest belief!"

A confraternity, under the appellation of *the confraternity of the Holy Passion*, obtained from the parliament of Paris a patent, which conferred on the members of

it the exclusive right of representing dramatic exhibitions in the city of Paris; but the disorders to which they gave rise, induced the parliament, in 1541, and 1548, to forbid their representing sacred subjects. At a much earlier period, the exhibition of them in churches had been absolutely prohibited by the clergy. When these sacred exhibitions were interdicted to the confraternity of the Holy Passion, they assigned their privilege to a troop of comic actors, called the '*Enfans sans souçi*.' There were other companies, but the *Enfans sans souçi* were always the favourite performers. Their privilege was revoked in 1584. They were succeeded by a company called '*the Gelosi*;' and these by the company called '*l'Elite royal*,' which in 1641, was indirectly sanctioned by an edict of Lewis the thirteenth, the *Magna Charta* of the French theatre. This company afterward divaricated into two branches; one established itself at the *Hotel de Bourgogne*, and the other at the *Hotel d'Argent aux Marais*. The abolition of tilts and tournaments, the revival of the arts and sciences, the merit of some dramatic writers, the great extension of the city of Paris, the increase of its wealth, and the number of its idle inhabitants, and the consequential diffusion of gallantry, produced in the capital an universal passion for stage entertainment. It rapidly pervaded every part of the kingdom, so that, toward the end of the reign of Louis the fourteenth there scarcely was, in his dominions, a town of any consequence, which had not its theatre. The introduction of the Italian opera in France, in 1633, carried dramatic song and dance to their utmost pitch of refinement.

Such was the rise and progress of the French stage. It was always viewed by the state with a considerable degree of jealousy. A capitulary of Charlemagne, of the year 809, ranks theatrical performers among discreditable persons. In 1181, Philip Augustus banished actors from his court; St. Lewis would never admit them to it. Lewis the thirteenth subjected the theatre to severe regulations:—these were adopted, and others pro-

vided by a legislative enactment, which, in 1680, Lewis the fourteenth addressed, in the form of a letter, to the lieutenant-general de police. It seems to carry precaution, for the prevention of improper representations on the stage, and repressing immorality among the actors, as far as practicable precaution, in these respects, can be carried. Lewis the fourteenth placed the opera on a magnificent establishment, and gave the direction of it to Lulli, a musician of learning and genius. His instrumental band, called his twenty-four violins, were once renowned over Europe. But to use an expression of doctor Burney, there abilities were not of a kind to continue the miraculous powers ascribed to Orpheus and Amphion.

III. 5.

The English School of Music.

THE venerable Bede informs us, that, when St. Austin and the companions of his mission had their first audience of king Ethelbert, in the Isle of Thanet, they approached him in procession, singing litanies ; and that afterward, when they entered Canterbury, they sung a litany, and at the end of it, *Allelujah* ; but he remarks that our ancestors had been previously instructed in the rites and ceremonies of the Gallican church by St. Germanus, and had heard him sing *Allelujah*, many years before the arrival of St. Austin. He mentions two professors sent from Rome into England to teach music to our Saxon ancestors : he himself was an able musician. A treatise, *De Musica Theoretica, Practica et Mensurata*, has been ascribed to him.

From this early time to the present, music always flourished in England ; her contrapuntists resembled and rivalled those of the Flemish school. Henry the eighth was a judge of music, and is thought to have been a composer. His reign was illustrated by several contrapuntists of great eminence, particularly *Tallis* and *Byrd*.—

Both were Roman Catholics, but are supposed to have accommodated themselves to the changes, which in those times successively took place in the national religion. They obtained from queen Elizabeth a patent for the sole printing of music, and music paper.

Luther was favourable to music : his hymn against the Turks and the Pope, and the music to which he set it, are generally known. He composed several other hymns ; his catechism, and even the confession of *Augsburgh*, were versified and set to music. *Calvin* was an enemy to music. Simple unadorned psalmody, he allowed ; but no musical instrument was suffered within the walls of Geneva for more than a hundred years after the reformation. In the reign of queen Elizabeth, the choral music of the cathedral service was cultivated with great success. The names of *doctor Bull*, the first *Gresham* professor of music, and of *Thomas Morley*, his disciple, one of the gentlemen of the chapel of queen Elizabeth, are still remembered with respect. The profound skill of the former in harmony was known on the continent. While he was on his travels, he met at *St. Omers* with a French musician, who had composed a piece of music in forty parts, and defied the whole world to correct or add to it. Doctor Bull, in two hours, added forty other parts to it.—“The Frenchman,” says *Anthony Wood* who relates this story, “burst into great ecstasy, and swore that he, who added these forty parts, must be the devil or doctor Bull.”

Music was proscribed by the Puritans. The organ and the surplice they held in equal horror. At the restoration, music regained her honours. *Orlando Gibbons* belongs to the reign of Charles the first : *Matthew Lock*, to that of Charles the second. He composed the music for the restoration ;—his music for the tragedy of *Macbeth*, is still heard with delight. He was organist to *Catharine*, the queen-consort of Charles the second, and lived and died a Roman Catholic.

The immortal *PURCELL* is the glory of the English school of music. That “worth and skill,” which, to use

Milton's energetic phrase in his sonnet to Henry Lawes, "exempts the man of genius from the throng," few composers have possessed in a higher degree. Most Englishmen, though with some hesitation, will allow Purcell's inferiority to Handel; but few will acknowledge his inferiority to any other composer. On the other hand, few foreigners feel Purcell's merit. If he had lived half a century later he would have become acquainted with the Italian compositions of the school of Vinci, and witnessed the powers, and perceived the capabilities of instrumental music. Had this happened, he would, in all probability, have been more elegant, more sublime, and more impassioned; but he would have been less English.—This addition, therefore, to his glory, an Englishman can scarcely wish him to have possessed:—Such as he was, his compositions show how far, without resorting to continental aid, true, genuine English words and feelings can be expressed by true, genuine English music. For with all their beauty, their contrivance, and their strength, Purcell's compositions have the true raciness of the English soil.

In this respect he has been without a successor. We must, however, observe, that two kinds of composition have, for nearly a century, been *peculiar* to this country: the Anthem and the Serious Glee. The *English anthem* partakes of the nature of the motett of the Flemish School; but it is a considerable improvement on the motett, as it possesses all its harmony and tenfold its elegance, pathos, and variety. Several anthems of *Purcell*, of *doctor Blow*, of *doctor Croft*, *doctor Green*, and *doctor Boyce*, are excellent: The anthem of doctor Croft, "O Lord, thou hast searched me out and proved me,"—which was performed on the late king's recovery from his first malady, is entitled to particular praise. One of the greatest treats which the real lover of music can receive, is to hear some of these anthems well performed:—but this seldom happens:

"Laissons à des chantres gâgés le soin de louer Dieu,"

BOILEAU.

was certainly a practice, much too frequent on the continent; unfortunately, in England it is equally common. Wherever it prevails, it is a crying abuse, and loudly calls on the hierarchy of the country for redress. The musical compositions of foreign growth, which the English anthem most resembles, are the *Psalm of Marcello*. The late Mr. Avison placed these on a level with the oratorios of Handel: this was absurd; but they certainly possess a high degree of excellence.

*English serious glee*s have long filled a large space in the musical school of England. Some rival the best Italian madrigals; in several of Stafford Smyth's, doctor Cooke's, and Mr. Webbe's, (a younger writer would mention living authors,)—the higher chords are certainly sounded. The glee of lord Mornington, "Return my lovely maid, return," is one of the most elegant compositions that has come from a British pen.

But, if favourable reception, and long and unvarying patronage of a composer, continued and almost exclusive admiration of his works, veneration of his name, and eminent honours rendered to his memory, entitle a nation to claim for her countryman a musician, not born within her territory, England may boast, in *HANDEL*, in his works, and in their general diffusion, of a school, that yields to none. His genius beams with particular splendour in his oratorios. "All the Italian writers," says doctor Burney, "agree that the sacred dramas called *oratorios*, had their beginning in the time of *San Philip-po Neri*, who was born in 1515, and founded the congregation of priests of the oratory of Rome, in 1540. During the service, and after the sermon, it was usual for this saint, among other pious exercises, in order to draw youth to the church, and keep them from secular amusements, to have hymns, psalms, and other spiritual *laudi*, or songs, sung either in chorus, or by a single favourite voice, divided into two parts, the one performed before the sermon, and the other after it. The subject of these pieces was sometimes the good Samaritan; sometimes Job and his friends, the prodigal son,

Tobit with the angel, his father and his wife, &c. All these, by the excellence of the composition, the band of instruments, and the performance, brought the oratory into such repute, that the congregation became daily more numerous. And thence, this species of sacred musical drama, wherever performed, in process of time, obtained the general appellation of Oratorio." The same writer informs us, that, in the church *San Gerolamo della Carita* at Rome, oratorios are still constantly performed, on Sundays, and festivals, from All Saint's day, till Palm Sunday, as well as in the church of *la Vallicella*, where they are likewise performed, from the first of November till Easter.

Handel carried the music of an oratorio to the highest degree of perfection. Never did a character given of one person, apply to another better, than does the character given by doctor Johnson of Milton, apply to Handel. The doctor says of Milton, that "the characteristic quality of his poem is sublimity. He sometimes descends to the elegant, but his element is the great. He can occasionally invest himself with grace, but his natural port is gigantic loftiness. He can please, when pleasure is required; but it is his peculiar power to astonish. He seems to have been well acquainted with his own genius, and to know, what it was that nature bestowed on him, more bountifully than upon others; the power of displaying the vast, illuminating the splendid, enforcing the awful, darkening the gloomy, and aggravating the dreadful." Such was Milton; such certainly was Handel.

Something of a revolution, in the musical taste of this country, was effected by queen Charlotte's introducing into it several German performers of eminence. Unfortunately, it was not the music of the high German school of *Hasse*, and the elder *Bachs*; it was the light, elegant, and chaste, but generally unimpassioned school of *Johann Christian Bach*. A more elevated rank among musicians, than that, which Goldsmith holds among poets, should not be assigned to him;—and perhaps he should

be rather classed with Shenstone,—never offending against taste, always possessing sprightliness and grace, but seldom exhibiting a ray of genius. His finest performance, is the "*Chiari fonti*," in *Orpheo*. A further revolution was effected by *Clementi's* most scientific, but most classic performance on the forte piano;—equalled, but not surpassed by *Cramer*, his excellent and unrivalled scholar.

In the execution of the easy, the difficult, the fantastic, the elegant, and the sublime, both were supremely great; and when *Cramer* performs his own adagios, "*Venus*," to use the words of *Horace*, "imbues them with the fifth essence of her own nectar. Still, the aspirant to perfect performance on a keyed instrument, should give days and nights to the practice of the lessons of *Scarlatti* and the elder *Bachs*.—What a degree of excellence on a keyed instrument an amateur can attain, those, who have heard your, or *Miss Hulmandell's* finished performance, can imagine.

From the middle of the last century, excellence on the forte piano appears to have become the great object of female education. Yet, though so much of their time is given by the sex to music, how seldom is a finished performer to be heard! To what is this owing? May it not be, that a desire to excel is often mistaken for genius? "Young artist," says *Rousseau*, "inquire not what is genius. Do you possess it? you feel it. Do you not possess it? you will never know what it is. But do you wish to ascertain whether genius has smiled upon you? Run to Naples! Listen to the master-pieces of *Durante*, of *Jomelli*, of *Pergolesi*. If, while you hear them, your eyes fill with tears, you feel your heart beat, you shiver, you are suffocated with a transport of delight, take *Metestasio*, and compose. His genius will animate your own. Like him, you will create. But if, while you listen to these great masters, you remain tranquil, you feel no transport, if you find them merely pretty,—Dare not ask what is genius. Vulgar man! profane not that sublime word. What will it avail you to

know what genius is? You will never feel it. Go, compose French music."—In this, there is exaggeration, but there is truth. Let any one, who lives on terms of intimacy with a professor of real merit, ask of him, confidentially, his genuine sentiments on the taste for music in this country; he will confess, that it has seldom occurred to him, to find, in a large boarding-school, two, who had a real ear for music.

After all,—supposing this high degree of musical excellence attainable,—should a young lady, should her parents desire, that she should be stared at by all eyes, and fatigue most ears? Yet this is generally the case at every musical "*at home*," which aspires to a concert.

This observation, however, does not apply to the cultivation of the art, or the practice of it with moderation,—where the performer aims at no more, than to sing a simple melody, in time and tune; and to obtain a general knowledge of harmony. When these are acquired, when the words of the song are well chosen,—(which should never be in a language, the perfect knowledge and pronunciation of which the performer does not possess,)—when they are sung with decent feeling; and the songster, though pleased to diffuse pleasure among her friends around her, evidently retires from the observing eye,—it is one of the highest gratifications, which is given to mortals to receive. Perhaps an Italian hypercritic would deny it to be music.—In fact, it is something better: Virtue and pleasure alternately smile;—

" There too, does *Hymen* oft appear,
In saffron robe, with taper clear."

MILTON.

But beyond this,—unless where the performer is perfect, and the audience select,—all is distraction and impatience;—it rains ennui.

The subject seems to require some mention of our *national melodies*.—Most beautiful are *Scottish* melodies, sung in their original purity, by *Scottish* ladies. But French music, sung by a Frenchman, is scarcely more detestable, than a *Scottish* air with *English* embroidery.

Several English ballads are highly pleasing. They are always deformed by florid song,—and when harmonized, lose all their effect.

The music of the Irish is remarkably pathetic. It is said, (*Ursuline History of Ireland*, vol. 1. p. 14,) that “a celebrated Italian, after listening to some of their airs, suddenly exclaimed, ‘that must be the music of a people who have lost their freedom!’”

IV.

Observations on the Attempts in this Country to imitate the Italian style of Singing.

THAT the Italian is the best style of singing, appears to be universally confessed; but, from this, it does not necessarily follow, that the musical aspirants of other countries should absolutely reject their native styles, and attempt to acquire the Italian. The voice of the natives of Italy, differs so greatly from that of the inhabitants of Cisalpine regions, that what is natural, and therefore suited to Italians, is neither natural nor suited to others, and is probably beyond their reach. An Italian lisps in musical tones, and with musical inflexions; these increase with his growth, and become every day more strongly marked: at length, his ordinary discourse has so much musical intonation and cadence, that it approaches nearly to the recitative. On the other hand, the first tones of every Englishman are English; and their Englishery, (to use a word inserted in one of our statutes,) increases with his years, and never has any thing of the singing parlance of the Italians. Where this difference exists between the genuine Italian and the genuine English enunciation, is there not ground to infer that nature has appropriated to each his own style, and interdicted it to the other? The general, it may perhaps be said the universal, failure of the attempts of English singers to acquire the Italian style, may be thought to warrant this conclusion. Perhaps, therefore it is unwise for a native of England to aim at

more than is taught in the classical school of the *Knye vetts*. This is attainable ; and those, who attain it, are certainly entitled to rank with vocal performers of great eminence ; but the warble of Italy seems to be denied by nature to every singer of English growth. It is possible that they should sing like *Mr. Harrison*,—impossible that they should sing like *Viganoni*. *Mrs. Billington*, notwithstanding her amazing powers, her taste, and her science ; notwithstanding even her long residence in Italy, continued to the last an English singer. If *Miss Stephens* had not the good sense to continue such, her singing would be much less pleasing and much less admired.

Still, it is not meant to deny to the Italian school its transcendent merit ; but much is admirable which is not imitable.

No one can deny the superior merit of the Greek and Roman metres ; but experience has shown that modern languages are not susceptible of them, and that all attempts to form the words of other languages into them is preposterous ; such attempts, therefore have been long abandoned. This, however, does not prevent our admiration of the ancient metres ; or prevent us from adopting, as far as the genius of our languages admits, their various beauties. Should not this be our guide in respect to the Italian style of singing ? A successful adoption of it altogether seems denied to us by the nature of our languages, by our vocal organs ; by the sobriety of our fancy, our imagination, and our generally unimpassioned feelings. Still, we may adopt many of its beauties, something of its smoothness, and something of its elegance.

Many readers of these pages have heard *Viganoni's* enchanting *Mamma Mia*. As it was sung by him,

“ Like orient pearls at random strung,”

SIR WILLIAM JONES.

every note delighted, and every hearer of skill and taste, listened in a kind of transport. But, how unsuccessful

have been all his English imitators! Sometimes we are surprised with the volubility of their notes: like motion, according to Aristotle's definition of it, "they are not, where they are; and the are, when they are not." But we do not grieve when they cease. We then feel a kind of relief, in the hope of hearing something intelligible; something that will strike by its science, or please by its elegance; something that will speak to our feelings.

Those, who have heard *Pacchierotti*, *Banti*, or *Mara*, have heard the perfection of the Italian school. The soul-subduing notes of the first, the chaste and pathetic elegance of the second, the energy, the grace, and the simplicity of the last, have not been excelled. In addition to her other merits, *Mara* possessed a species of musical intellect, which gave an indescribable charm to her vocal displays. One of the most beautiful and sublime airs of Handel is, "Tears are my daily food, while thus they say, where is now thy God?"—in one of the anthems composed by him for the duke of Chandos. The melody of the last member of the period is so constructed, that the emphasis is placed on the words "where" and "now." This was owing to Handel's misapprehension of the meaning of the sentence. The Philistines introduced into it, did not mean to insult the Jews with having no God; but with the inferiority of Jehovah to Dagon: the emphasis of the sentence should, therefore, have been fixed on the word "thy." This *Mara* saw, and by taking something from its next preceding, and something from its next following note; and by sounding the word "thy" with the full volume of her voice, gave the sentence its legitimate effect. I had the curiosity to ask her,—and I did it with all the respect due to a *prima donna assoluta*,—whether this was the result of her own observation, or the suggestion of another? She answered, that it arose solely from her own conception of the import of the sentence.

Once, in a private society, in consequence of something that fell in conversation, she sung, without any accompaniment, the simple air in Marcello's Psalms, "In

my distress, I called unto Jehovah, and he did hear me," with such exquisite taste and pathos, that she entranced every hearer. To our infinite gratification she repeated it half a dozen times, and every time more beautifully and impressively than before ; a person, observing that there was a violincello in the room, requested that she would permit the late Mr. Paxton, who was present, to accompany her ;—this was done ;—it was fine,—very fine,—but the charm was lost. This little circumstance may be thought to strengthen Rousseau's hypothesis, which I shall transcribe in a subsequent part of this letter, that "harmony is unnatural, and rather weakens than increases the effect of simple melody."*

Mara was particularly distinguished by the manner in which she sung, "I know that my Redeemer liveth." It was beyond singing, it was eloquence. She opened it with great solemnity ; hope was discernible ; but it was only the dawn of hope,—as she proceeded, it brightened and expanded ; but when she came to the last repetition of the sentence, the firm and animated confidence with which she uttered the words, "I know," and the jubilation of soul with which she pronounced the words, "And in my heart I shall see God," no language can adequately tell. The audience thought not of the air, or of the band, or even of the singer ; they only felt the sentiment, and they felt it in all its sublimity.

I beg your forgiveness for dwelling so long on these topics :—but they bring to my mind recollections,

" My weary soul that seem to sooth,
And redolent of joy and youth,
To breathe a second spring."

GRAY:

* Some excellent observations on this doctrine of Rousseau, and on some other points in the theory and practice of music, may be found in the *Edinburgh Review*, for Oct. 1822, Art. *The Select Melodies of Scotland, interspersed with those of England, Wales, &c.* by George Thompson, F. A. S. p. 62.

V.

The Gregorian Chaunt, Canto Fermo, or Plain Song of the Roman Catholic Church.

To this, you particularly wished me to direct my attention ;—and it was this circumstance chiefly, that occasioned my troubling you with the preceding pages.

My researches into the origin and variations of the plain song, have not been very successful. All that has been said upon it, by *Gerbert*, the abbot of *Blaise*, in his treatise *de Cantu et Musica Sacra*, 2 vols. 4to. 1774 ; by *sir John Hawkins* and *doctor Burney*, in their *Histories of Music* ; by *abbé Lebeuf*, in his *Traité historique et pratique sur le Chant Ecclesiastique*, 1 vol. 8vo. 1741 ; by *Nivers*, in his *Dissertations sur le Chant Gregorien*, 1 vol. 8vo. 1683 ; and *Feillée*, in his *Méthode Nouvelle pour apprendre parfaitement les Règles du Psalmodie*, 1 vol. 8vo. 1811, has been considered by your correspondent, and very little information derived by him from the perusal.

The origin of the Canto Fermo is certainly involved in obscurity. To a certain extent, the Greek modes are preserved in the eight Gregorian tones ; but all are in the diatolic scale. Such too, are all the Hebrew airs with which we are acquainted. But neither the Hebrew nor the Gregorian melodies afford a single instance of the chromatic or enharmonic scales. We also know that the Greek melodies abounded in quarter tones ; no such tone has ever yet found its way into a Gregorian chaunt. Rhythm was the essence of Greek music ; the Gregorian psalmody is heedless of it. Add to this, that the church came out of the synagogue, and from the first repudiated paganism and every imitation of it. These circumstances seem to render it highly probable that the canto fermo originated in the music of the synagogue. Yet it is not improbable, that after the dispersion of the Jews into the cities of Greece and Asia, in consequence of the Macedonian conquests, the Jewish melodies received

some improvements or modifications from those of Greece.

All writers on the subject mention the *Ambrosian chaunt*, and the improvements of it by Pope Gregory the Great; but, what its state was, in the time of St. Ambrose, or what were Pope Gregory's improvements, is far from being ascertained. We know little more, than that, in the time of St. Ambrose, it consisted of four tones: that four were added by Pope Gregory; that the Ambrosian tones were called *authentic*, the Gregorian, *plagal*. But, in what the difference consisted, it is difficult to say: perhaps some of the following observations will give some notion of it.

The nature of the GREGORIAN CHAUNT cannot be shown better, than by contrasting it with modern music.

V. 1.—A material difference between them is, that the *Gregorian chaunt is strictly confined to pure and simple melody*; either sung by a single voice, or by several, but in strict unison; and that any addition to it of harmony, either vocal or instrumental, alters its nature, and is wholly modern.

During several centuries after the introduction of the organ, it was played in strict unison with the chaunt.

V. 2.—In the time of Pope Gregory, and during many of the subsequent centuries, the *natural octave only, without any adventitious sharp or flat*, was admitted either into ecclesiastical or into secular music. Afterward, the flat *si* was introduced; in the progress of time, it began to be considered as a legitimate qualification of *si* natural. Attempts were subsequently made to introduce *mi* flat, and even a sharp seventh preceding a minor third; but both were rejected, as heterodox; and the true Gregorians contemptuously styled the melodies, in which they obtained a place, *musica ficta*, or *fictitious music*. Doctor Burney informs us, that it was not without great difficulty and some laceration of mind, that the orthodox *Padre Martini* vanquished his fear of in-

carrying the guilt of musical impiety, by admitting into a Gregorian melody any accidental sharp or flat. All writers on the ancient music of the church agree, that no Gregorian melody, in which the *si* flat is found, is of the *first growth*; and that all melodies, having *mi* flat, or any other alteration of the notes in the natural key, are of very recent date.

The adventitious flats and sharps of modern music, and their various effects, are too well known to you to make any mention of them in this place necessary; and you will immediately see the vast, I may say the immeasurable difference, which they occasion, between the Gregorian and modern melodies.

I remember your once asking me, if it were possible to mention the number of possible melodies: my answer was, that the difficulty was to state the case, with its proper conditions,—not to answer it. A Greek philosopher* has shown, that the grains of sand on the shores of the sea, fall very short of the 50th term of an increasing decuple progression.

V. 3.—A modern melody may end upon any note of the musical scale, proper flats and sharps being introduced, when the case requires it. *A Gregorian chaunt must end on re, mi, fa, or sol natural.* The melodies may ascend or descend above or below these notes; but they must close upon one of them; and, as I have already observed, no sharps or flats, with the exception of *si* flat, are admitted.

V. 4.—Both the Gregorian chaunt and modern melody have their *authentic and plagal division*.

The import of these words in modern music is well known to you. Their import in the Gregorian chaunt is wholly different; but to show the nature of this difference, it is necessary both to explain the word *dominant*, as it is applied to the Gregorian note, and to give a succinct view

* Archimides, in his *Arenarium*.

of the eight ecclesiastical tones, in one of which every Gregorian chaunt must move.

V. 5.—In modern music, the word *dominant* uniformly denotes the fifth note of the key in ascent, or its fourth in descent. It describes, in the Gregorian chaunt, no particular rank or order of note ; it signifies that note, which is most frequently heard, and which, from this circumstance, seems to govern the song ; thus it has no reference to its order in the scale.

V. 6.—With respect to the *Ecclesiastical Tones*, I shall set down in the following table, the notes, with which they severally close ; the dominant note of each ; and, as it is generally supposed that the Ecclesiastical tones are derived from the *modes of the Greek music*, I shall set opposite to each tone, the Greek mode from which it is supposed to be derived.

Order of the Tones.	Key or Final Note.	Dominant.	Greek Mode.
The first,	Re,	La,	Dorian,
The second,	Re,	Fa,	Hyper-dorian,
The third,	Mi,	Ut,	Phrygian,
The fourth,	Mi,	La,	Hyper-phrygian,
The fifth,	Fa,	Ut,	Æolian,
The sixth,	Fa,	La,	Hyper-æolian,
The seventh,	Sol,	Re,	Mixolydian,
The eighth,	Sol,	Ut,	Hyper-mixolydian.

The 1st, 3d, 5th, and 7th tones are called authentic, from the superior place of their respective dominants ; and the 2d, 4th, 6th, and 8th tones are called plagal, from the respective inferiorities of their dominants ; but this inferiority of the plagal to the authentic tones of the church is theoretical. The Catholic choirs generally sing the plagal in a higher key than the authentic ; thus, they generally sing the first tone, which is authentic, in its proper key of *re*, with a minor third ; and raise the second, which is plagal, and properly in the same key, to that of the *sol* above, with a minor third.

You must perceive that there is a very slight analogy

between the circumstance, which brought the words authentic and plagal into use in modern music, and that, which gives them these appellations in the Gregorian chaunt.

V. 7.—I shall now trouble you with some *miscellaneous observations*. Your knowledge of music will immediately suggest to you, that the first and second of the ecclesiastical tones are in the modern key of *re*, with a minor third;—that the 5th and 6th are in the modern key of *fa*, with a major third; and that the 7th and 8th are in the modern key of *sol*, with a major third. You will perceive immediately, that if we try the two first and two last of these tones, by the rules of modern music, both the two first and the two last are defective for want of a sharp seventh.

Considering *mi* to be (what according to the rules of the Gregorian chaunt it must be) the final note of the key, there is no key in modern music analogous to that of the 3d and 4th ecclesiastical tones, as each wants—a sharp seventh,—a whole tone, for its second note,—and a semitone for its third. To avoid the effects of these deficiencies, organists play the chaunt either in the key of *ut*, and thus make *mi* serve for the third of its full chord; or in the key of *la*, with a minor third, and thus make *mi* serve for its medial cadence.

You will readily discover several other imperfections or peculiarities in the eight ecclesiastical modes; it is therefore needless to point them out to you, especially as you must have already found this letter too long.

V. 8.—Persons, who have not attended to the nature of the Gregorian chaunt, suppose that every simple melody, which lies within the compass of an octave and a few more notes, and moves slowly, and both gently rises, and gently descends, may be ranked among these chaunts. But, to entitle it to this honour, the air must have these qualities, and also have one of the final notes I have mentioned, and its appropriate dominant.

VI.

On the Restoration of the Gregorian Chaunt in the Roman Catholic Chapels.

POPE John the twenty-second, inveighs in one of his decretals,* against the musical vagaries introduced in his time, into the service of the church; the minute division of the notes, the repetitions of the words, and the singing of different words, in the different parts of the harmony. He prescribed that the notes should never be shorter than the *breve*, that they should be sung slowly; that counterpart, or music in parts, should never be used, except on great festivals; and that, when it should be used, the same syllable should be uttered, at the same time, by all the singers in the different parts. Mr. Southey,† in his interesting life of the late Mr. John Wesley, notices the great attention which that eminent man paid to the psalmody of his chapels. "He especially enjoined," says his biographer, that "the whole congregation should sing; that there should be no repetition of words, no dwelling upon disjointed syllables; and that they should not sing in parts, but with one heart and voice, in one simultaneous and uninterrupted feeling." Pope John lived four hundred years before Wesley; and probably Wesley had never heard of that Pope's decretal; but in every age and country, good sense is the same, and suggests the same regulations. "Wesley," adds his biographer, "wished the service to be concluded within the hour."

The plain song of the Roman Catholic church was sung so well no where as in Flanders and Brabant. There, a voice is common, which is seldom, if ever, heard in England,—a high, full-toned, and mellow counter-tenor, proceeding wholly from the breast,—a *voce di spetto*.—The choirs of some religious houses, as that of the monks at La Trappe, are reported to have been so

* Extravag. Com. 1. iii. art. de Vita et Honestate Cler. c. xi.

† Vol. 2, ch. 11. p. 223.

well disciplined, that their chaunt seemed to proceed from one voice, of an enormous power. The effect is said to have been very awful. A still more surprising instance of musical discipline is, that of the musical bands in some military corps in Russia, where, each member sounds, on a species of horn, one note, and one note only ; but sounds it in such perfect time and measure, that the whole body executes melodies of great rapidity.

Before I close this letter, I must express a most earnest wish,—and I know it to be your's,—that, to a certain extent at least, the Gregorian chaunt should be restored in the English Catholic chapels. No one can be more sensible than I am, of the exquisite beauty of the masses now sung in the chapels of the Bavarian and Portuguese ambassadors. Since the days of Pergolesi, a more perfect composition for the church than *Garcia's mass*, has not been heard ; those, who have not assisted at it, when it was sung by Garcia, Begrez, Naldi, and Miss Naldi, have not heard the most perfect execution of vocal music yet exhibited in this country. The words *Bonæ voluntatis*, *Laudamus te*, and the *Crucifixus etiam pro nobis*, are master-pieces of learning and pathos, at once simple, elegant, sublime, and,—without which all church music fails,—highly devotional. They will not suffer in a comparison with the finest passages in the masses of Haydn or Mozart.

But, if the ancient Gregorian masses were sung, as they might be sung, with a little care and practice, would not more pleasure be given to a great majority of hearers, and more devotion excited in all ? The solo verses should be sung by two voices, trebles, if possible ; the other verses should be sung by the general body of the congregation, in exact measure, and with subdued voices. The accompaniment of the organ, should be that, which we hear from our incomparable musical friend, Mr. Norello ; chaste, not meagre ; learned, not crude ; full, not overpowering. A service thus performed, would both delight and kindle devotion.

The restoration of it is devoutly to be wished. But,

if we cannot obtain the full extent of our wishes, let us make a compromise. Let us surrender the *Gloria* and the *Agnus Dei* to the *canto figurato*; but let the *canto fermo* retain the *Kyrie*, the *Credo*, and the *Sanctus*. The *Credo* was inserted in the liturgy as a profession of faith to be recited by all the faithful; to appropriate it, therefore, exclusively to the choir, is directly opposite to the intention of the church, and of the holy framers of its liturgy. It may be added, that, being a mere enunciation or profession of doctrine, it is not a proper subject for figurate song. So much is this the case, that, in Italy, a composer of a mass seldom thinks of music for the *Credo*. Ricci's mass had no music for it, when he arrived with it in this country. Mr. Paxton, but not without difficulty, persuaded him to add the *Credo*. A long musical *Kyrie* retards too much the ceremonial of the mass: a long musical *Sanctus* interferes too much with the Elevation, for which no music perhaps is so proper, as a solemn silence, followed by a slow strain of the organ's softest notes. Let us hope that the day will come, when the high mass of the English Catholics will be thus celebrated.

"When one considers," says Rousseau, "that, of all the nations of the earth, who have either music or song, the European nations alone have harmony and chords, and alone find the mixture agreeable: When we recollect that the world had existed so many ages, before any polished nation cultivated the science of harmony; that no animal, no bird, no being in nature, produces any concord but unison, or any other music than melody; that the oriental languages, at once so sonorous and so musical,—that the ears so nice, so delicate, and so highly cultivated of the Greeks, never led that voluptuous and impassioned people to harmony; that, without it, their music had such prodigious effect; that, with it, our music is so feeble,—that it was reserved for the northern nations, whose hard and gross organs are more affected by the display and noise of the voice, than by the accents and melody of its inflexions, to have the merit of this discovery, and of establishing the principles of the art:—When we attend

to all these circumstances, it is very difficult not to suspect that all our harmony is a barbarous and gothic invention, of which we never should have thought, if we had been more sensible to the true beauties of the art and to music really natural."

Finally,—thousands after thousands quitted France to sing the psalms of *Marot*. Beautiful, and exquisitely beautiful, as are *Marcello's* psalms, would a single person quit his native soil, to hear the psalms of *Marcello*? If the evangelical sects gain so much on the establishment,—is it not principally because the churches of the former abound with strains, which all must feel, and in which most may join?

Here then, at last, this unconscionably long letter ends; the subject of it grew, insensibly, under my hand; and thus, instead of employing the leisure of two Sundays, as I intended it should, it has fully employed the whole leisure of two long vacations.

I have the honour to be,

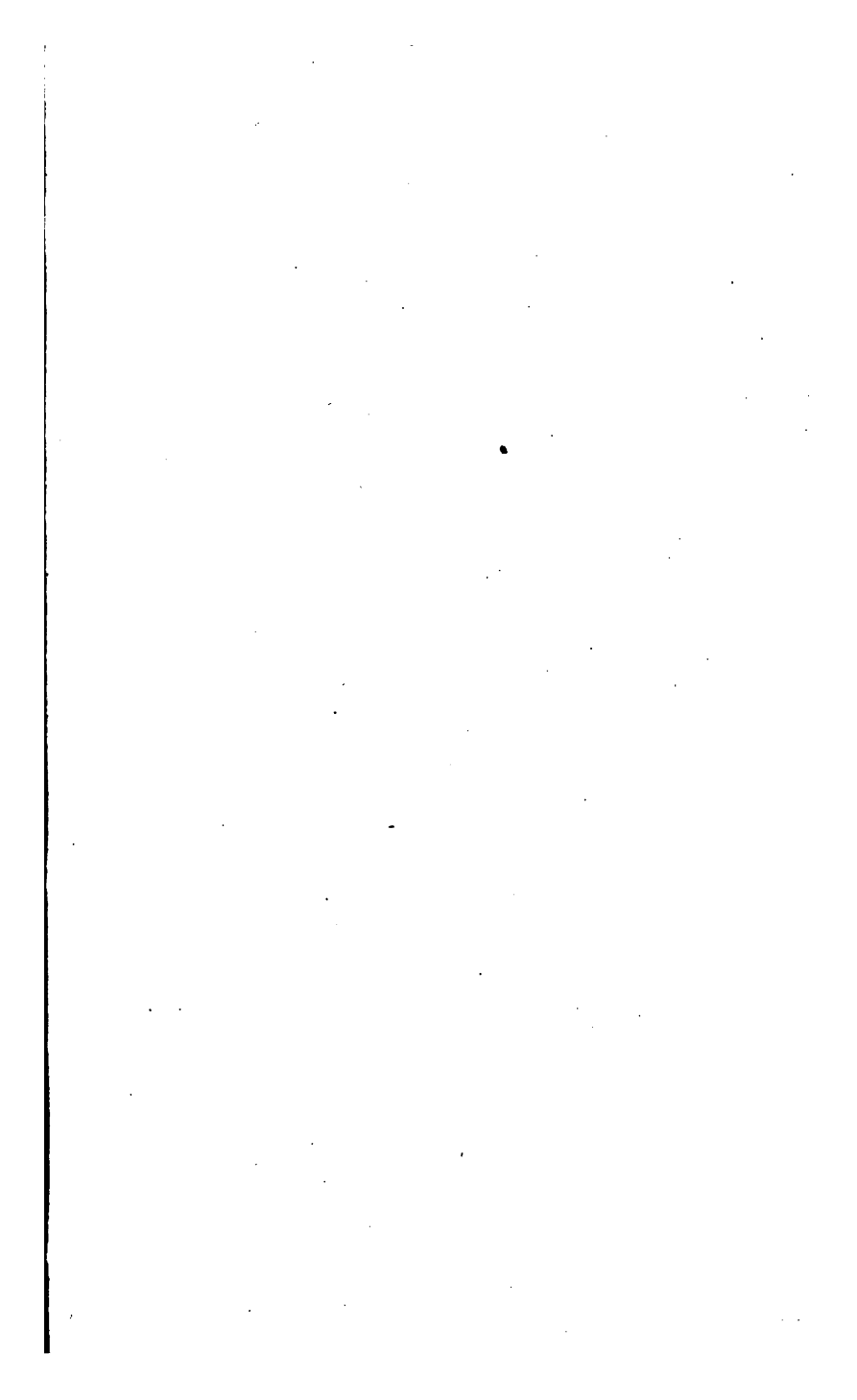
With the greatest respect,

Your most obedient humble servant,

CHARLES BUTLER.

Great Ormand-street,
November 4, 1818.

FINIS.







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